

Florentine Codex

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A handwritten signature in cursive script, possibly reading "Leonardo da Vinci". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a thick horizontal line.

Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN

*Fr. Bernardino
de Sahagún*

Book 6

Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy

Translated from the Aztec, with notes and illustrations

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IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART VII

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THROUGH WHICH THEY DISPLAYED
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Integerrimo Patri Fratri Roderico de sequera, generali comjssario omnjum
occidentalis orbis terrarum, vno dempto Peru. Frater Bernardinus de sahagun,
vtrāq[ue] felicitatem optat.

Habes hic admodum obseruande pater, opus regio conspectu dignum: quod
qujdem acerrimo, ac diutino marte comparatum est: cujus sextus liber hic est:
sunt et alij sex post hunc: quj omnes duodenarium numerum complent. In
quatuor volumjna congesti. Hic sextus omnjum maior, cum corpore tum vi:
grandi tripudio iubilat: te sibi ac fratribus sujs, tantum inuenjsse patrem: vt
pote nullatenus dubitans, tujs auspicijs ad summam felicitatem vna cum fratri-
bus peruenjsse. vale, et vbiq[ue] prosperrime agas, vehementer affecto.

BOOK SIX -- RHETORIC AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

Libro sexto, de la Rethorica,
y philosophia moral, y theologia:
de la gente mexicana: donde
ay cosas muy curiosas tocan
tes a los primores de su len
gua: y cosas muy deli
cadas tocantes, a
las virtudes mo
rales.

de la Rethorica y philosophía moral

HERE BEGINNETH THE SIXTH BOOK, IN WHICH ARE TOLD THE VARIOUS WORDS OF PRAYER WITH WHICH THEY PRAYED TO THOSE WHO WERE THEIR GODS; AND HOW THEY MADE FORMAL CONVERSATION, THROUGH WHICH THEY DISPLAYED RHETORIC AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY, AS IS EVIDENT IN THE DISCOURSES.¹

NICAN VMPEOA: INJC CHIUANCEN AMUXTLI, VNCAN MOTENEOA IN TLATLA-TLAUHTILIZTLATOLLI: INJC QUJNTLA-TLAUHTIAIA INTEVAN CATCA: YOAN IN JUH TECPILLATOVAIA, INJC QUJMATIA RETHORICA, IOAN IN PHILOSOPHIA MORAL: IN JUH NEZTICA IN JPAN TLATOLLI.



First Chapter. Here are told the words which truly issued from their hearts when they spoke, at the time that they supplicated him who was their principal god, the one [who was] Tezcatlipoca, or Titlacauan,² or Yaotl,³ at the time that a plague prevailed, that he might destroy it. Those who so prayed were the priests who were their guardians of the gods. They acknowledged that he was the all-powerful, the invisible, the untouchable one. Highly admirable are the figures of speech, the metaphors.

Thus did they speak:

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh,⁴ O night, O wind,⁵ now in truth I come to appear before thee, to reach thee. Before thee I come jumping over ridges, I come sidling up⁶—I who am a commoner, unrighteous, evil. Let me not meet thy

Ic ce capitulo, vncan mjtóa: in tlatolli in vel in-jollo intech qujçaia: in qujtóaia: in jquac qujtla-tlauhtiaia, in vei inteuuh catca, in ichoatl tezcattli-puca: anoço titlacaoa: anoço iaotl: in jquac cocoliz-tli momanaia, injc qujpopoloz. Ichoantin ic tlatla-tlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque, in jnteupixcaoã catca: iuh quimocujtiaia in ca ixquich iveli, amo ittalónj, amo matoconj: cenca maviçauhquj in machiotlatolli in metaphoras:

ynjc tlatoaia.

Tlacatle totecue, tloquee, naoaquee, iooalle, che-catl: a ca nelle ca axcan, mjspxantzinco njqujztuijtz, mjspxantzinco nacituijtz, mjspxantzinco njtlacueiac-xolujtuijtz, njtlaviltectuijtz: in njmaccoalli anânj-qualli, in âjietcli, amaço melleltzin, maço moçomal-

1. Extreme formality, floridness, ceremoniousness, effectiveness in command of figures of speech and recourse to parallelism, balance, and repetitions in most of the first forty chapters contrast with the colloquialisms found in the last three chapters. Book VI, then, represents mostly the prayers, discourses, exhortations of the high levels of society. In translating, we have attempted a rational compromise between literalness and looseness. For the most part, the constantly used forms called "reverential" by the ancient grammarians have been ignored unless the context suggested otherwise, and narrative or explanatory passages in the present tense in the original have in translation often been put in the past tense for easier reading.

2. Name of sorcerer identified with Tezcatlipoca; meaning doubtful. "Aquel cuyos esclavos somos" (ti-ilacahuani) is suggested by Angel María Garibay K.: *Llave del náhuatl* (second edition; Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1961; henceforth referred to as Garibay, *Llave*), p. 309.

3. "Enemy," one of the names given the god Tezcatlipoca.

4. *Tloque nauaque*. Angel María Garibay K.: *Historia de la literatura náhuatl* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1954; henceforth referred to as Garibay, *Historia*), Vol. II, p. 408: "diferismo en que se expresa al ser divino, bajo este circunloquio: el dueño del cerca y del junto, o sea, más cercano a nuestra mentalidad; el que está junto a todo y junto al cual todo está. Se refiere al Sol, a la Tierra, etc., pero es especial designación del nurnen en general. Por esto los misioneros a veces usan esta frase para designar a Dios." Cf. also Miguel León-Portilla: *La filosofía náhuatl*, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie de Cultura Náhuatl, Monografía 10 (third edition; Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1966), p. 392.

5. *Youalli, checatl*. "Noche, viento: invisible, impalpable. Diferismo aplicado a la divinidad suprema" (*ibid.*, p. 396). As Tezcatlipoca, *vide infra*, Chap. 43.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "sera la manera de mj hablar, como qujen va saltando camellones, o andando de lado." A similar passage in Chap. 10 equates *njtlacueiacxolhvia* with *yendo a saltos de rana*; in Garibay, *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 430, "el orador se aleja de la real presencia temeroso de haber ido como rana, a saltos."

annoyance, thy wrath. And do thou dispose as thou wilt dispose. In truth now thou inclinest thy heart,⁷ thou disposest. And it was ordained above us, it was arranged in the land of the dead,⁸ in the heavens, that we have been forsaken. In truth now thy annoyance, thy anger, descendeth; it gathereth; thou who art the lord of the near, of the nigh. Castigation,⁹ pestilence¹⁰ grow; they increase. For the plague is reaching the earth.

"O master, O our lord, truly now already the common folk go; they already perish. Already there is havoc, already the common folk, the vassals,¹¹ are destroyed. Already the babies, the children are [as if] crushed, shattered. They are those who know nothing, those who pile up earth [and] potsherds; those on the ground, who lie on the board, stretched out on the board. For already are destroyed the infants,¹² the eagle-warriors, the ocelot-warriors, the old men, the old women, the middle-aged women, the middle-aged men, the mature unmarried men. For already thy city is destroyed.¹³

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, indeed thy wrath, thy anger, already taketh glory, enjoyeth, taketh pleasure, delighteth in the castigation. It is absolutely true that there remaineth placed, implanted, pestilence upon [thy people]¹⁴ even as thou sprinklest, scatterest, the dew of the reed upon them. And so thou castigatest them with icy water, with nettles, with curved fangs.¹⁵

"And here, in truth, now, O master, O our lord, O night, O wind, O Moyocoyatzin,¹⁶ O Titlacauan,

tzin, ipan nja: auh manoço xicmonequilti, in quenja toconmonequiltiz: a ca nelle axcan, ca tlacaa in moiollotzin, ca ticmonequiltia: auh ca itoloc in topan, ca oiocoloc in mictlan, in jlujcac: ca otimaca oaloque, a ca nelle axcan ca temo, ca momana in meeltzin, in moqualantzin: in titloque, in tinaca que: ca ueia, ca vecapanjvi in quaujtl, in tetl: in temuxtli, in checatl: ca tlalpan aci in cocoliztli.

Tlacatle totecujoe, a ca nelle axcan: ca ie iauh, ca ie poliuj, in maceoalli, ca ie xaxamaca, ca ie ixpoliuj im maceoalli, in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli: ca ie xamari, ca ie teinj in piltzintli, in conetzintli: yn aia qujmo-machitia in tlalli, in tapalcatl cololoa: in tlalli ixco-ca, in quaujc onoc, in quauhtentoc; ca ie ixpoliuj in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli, in quauhtli in ocelotl: in veve, in jlama: in jiolloco cioatl, in jiolloco oquichtli, in jiolloco tlapaliuj: ca ie ixpolivi in matzin, in motepetzin.

Tlacatle totecujoe: tloquee, naoacaie: ca ie quj-timaloa, ca ie qujmotlamachitia, ca ie qujmocujltonoa: auh ca ie qujtlamachitia, in quavtl, in tetl, in moçomaltzin, in moqualantzin: in nelli mach in pôpocatoc, chichinauhtoc: in jtech ticmotlalilia, in jtech ticmopachilvia: injc ipan ticmopixaluja, in jpan ticmotzetzeltvia: in acatl in aoachio: auh injc itech ticmopachiluja, in atl cecec, in tzitzicatzli in tlancolihuj.

Auh iz nelle axcan, tlacatle totecujoe: ioalle, ehecatle, moicoiatzine, titlacaoane: quen qujnequj in

7. *tlacaa in moiollotzin*: Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana*, ed. Julio Platzmann (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), fol. 115v, gives: "otorgar o conceder algo." Cf. also Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 226.

8. We have consistently translated *mictlan* as "land of the dead." It might also be rendered as "place of the dead" or "region of the dead." Cf. Garibay, *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 195, for an extended discussion. The phrase *in topan in mictlan* also designates "the other side," "the beyond." See León-Portilla, *op. cit.*, pp. 327, 394.

9. *in quaujtl, in tetl*: *quaujtl*, tree, wood, or stick; *tetl*, stone; meaning castigation, punishment, correction. In Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 88r: "*Quaujtl tetl nictetocia. reprehender, corregir, y castigar a otro.*" Cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-14. To the many metaphorical phrases found throughout Book VI, we have given the meaning of the metaphor or a literal translation, according as the context seems to require.

10. *in temuxtli, in checatl*: *enfermedad o pestilencia*. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 98r (*temuxtli*).

11. *in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli*: see Chap. 43.

12. *in tlatqujtl in tlamamalli*: "the thing carried, the thing carried on the back." It may refer to a child, a people, a city, a government. For reference to child or infant, see Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

13. *in matzin, in motepetzin*: corresponding Spanish text: "*ya se asuela, y destruye vuestro pueblo, y vna gente, y vuestro cuadal.*" *Atl, tepetl*, or *altepetl* (water, mountain) is the metaphor for city or settlement. In the context of Book VI it more frequently refers to its inhabitants, the people. Sahagún uses the term *pueblo*, which refers correctly to both the city and its people.

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "*El fuego de pestilencia muy encendido, esta en vuestro pueblo: como el fuego en la çauana, que va ardiendo, y humeando, que njnguna cosa dexa enhiesta, nj sana...*"

15. *itech ticmopachiluja, in atl cecec, in tzitzicatzli*: "*Despertar a alguno con castigo, o corregirle.*" Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

16. *Moyocoyatzin*: "*el que se inventa a sí mismo*" (León-Portilla, *op. cit.*, p. 385). In Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Angel María Garibay K., ed.; Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1956; henceforth referred to as Sahagún, Garibay ed.), Vol.

how can thy heart wish it? How canst thou wish it? Hast thou already abandoned thy vassals? Is this perchance all? It is perchance this way? Will perchance the common folk go, perish? Will the governed come to an end? Will emptiness, darkness prevail in the city? Will it not be? Will thy miserable city choke with trees, fill with stones? And thy places for holding vigil, where thy mounds, thy pyramids are located, will they fall to pieces, will they break up?

"Is this perchance to be no more? Is this to be all? It is perchance this way? Will the castigation abate no more, will thy annoyance, thy anger be reversed? Will thy wrath, thy annoyance, no more be placated? Have we perchance just been forsaken? Hath it perchance been ordained above us in the land of the dead — hath it perchance been declared? Perchance no longer is there castigation with icy water?¹⁷ Perchance no longer is there castigation with nettles? Perchance in truth now there will be darkness forever? Wilt thou no longer look back upon the common folk?¹⁸

"For — ah! — thus are they destroyed, those who are restless in sickness, who toss from side to side, who nowhere can do anything; whose teeth, whose mouths [are filled with] dirt. For darkness is fallen; all are as if drunk; they just fall somewhere. And this [people] is as if destroyed, for nevermore is there knowledge of one, for deep darkness prevaieth, for no longer doth one concern himself for another, for the trainable ones, the teachable ones, the children, the suckling babies, those who are unlearned, already starve. It is nothing but truth: mothers, fathers have abandoned them; the filth of the aged ones envelopeth them.

"Alas, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O compassionate one: verily, now¹⁹ may thy rage have passed. May the vassals, the common folk, have enjoyed, have benefited from castigation. And thy city thou hast taken by the ear, thou hast tugged at the flank;²⁰ it hath been punished with icy water, with nettles; for truly now the reprehension of one, the confronting of one, the curved fang, have

moiollotzin, quecin tocommonenequiltia: cuix ie oticmomacaujlli in mocujtlapil, in matlapal: cuix ie ixqujch, cuix ie iuhquj, cuix ça iaz? cuix ça poliujz, in maceoalli: cuix tlamiz in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli? cuix cauhtimanjz, cuix ioatimanjz in atl, in tepetl: cuix aoccan iez, cuix quappachiuiz, cuix tetemjz, in mocnoauh, in motepeuh: auh in mochialoca: in motetel, in motzaqual imanca, cuix xiniz, cuix moiaoaz?

cuix ça aocmo? cuix ça ie ixqujch, cuix ie iuhquj: cuix aocmo ilotiz, in quaujtl, in tetl: cuix aocmo cuepiz, in melleltzin, in moqualantzin: cuix aoc tle ic ceujz in moçomaltzin, in melleltzin? cuix ça otimaçaoaloue: cuix oitoloc in topan, in mjetlan, cuix omjto, cuix aocmo çan, atl cecec: cuix aocmo çan tzitzicaztli, cuix nelli axcan: cemmaian tlaiooaz? ça aocmo monacaztitlanpatzincó ticmottiliz in maceoalli?

a ca yvin mopoloa y, in motzontlaujtzoa, in aujc motlaça, in acan veli qujchioa: a in jtlanco, in jcamac tlalli: a ca otlaiooac, ca iuhquj in oivintioac, ca ça can vetzio: auh ça quen mopoloa o, ca çan njman aoc temachizcamamanj, ca ouellaioouac, ca aocac teca: ca çan ie mapizmjqujlia in oapaoalonj, in jzcaltilonj, in conetzintli in chichiltzintli: in aia qujmomachitia. Ach atel ie nelli, a ocôcavili in nantli, in tatli: ha vevecujtlatl in qujtzaqua.

Hiyo tlatatle totecujoe: tloquee, naoaquee, icnooacatzintle: aviz nelle axcan, manoço omelleltzin qujz: manoço omocujltono, ma omotlamachti in quaujtl, in tetl, in mocujtlapiltzin, in matlapaltzin in maceoalli: auh in matzin, in motepeztzin: a ca oinacaztech ticmanjli, ca oijomotlan timopilotzino: ca oitech pachiu, in atl cecec, in tzitzicaztli: a ca onelle axcan, ca ocontlamachti, in tetzicunolti, in tecujtiuetz, in

IV, p. 344, "Dominator, tirano, arbitrario." Cf. also Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthums-kunde* (Berlin: Ascher und Co., 1902-23), Vol. III, p. 349.

17. Cf. Chap. 43.

18. Corresponding Spanish text: "Es posible: que este acote, y este castigo no se nos da para nuestra correccion, y emjenda? sino para total destruccion, y asolacion? y que no a mas de resplender el sol, sobre nosotros? sino que estemos en perpetuas tinieblas, y en eterno silencio: y que nunca mas nos aueys de mjrar, con ojos de mjericordia, nj poco, nj mas?"

19. *aviz*: possibly *auh iz*. See the phrase *auh iz nelle axcan* starting the fifth paragraph of this chapter.

20. *oinacaztech ticmanjli, ca oijomotlan timopilotzino*: see Chap. 43.

brought one benefit, even as the dew of the reeds hath sprinkled, showered, scattered upon one.²¹

"O master, O our lord, the city is as a baby, a child. Perhaps it hath heard, perhaps it hath exhorted itself, perhaps of its own accord it hath tugged at its flank, at its ear. Perhaps it hath reflected upon as much. Perhaps of its own accord it hath punished itself, castigated itself, perhaps it hath chidden itself, exhorted itself, so that in thy hands they animate one another, they encourage one another, they chatter.²²

"May this yet be all, O master, O our lord, O precious nobleman, O precious person; may it [have reached] its end. Conclude it, stem it. May thy annoyance, thy anger, abate, be reversed; may thy wrath, thy fury, be placated; may thy annoyance pass. Doth not death prevail? Where indeed is there to go, in vain? For our tribute is death; [it is] awarded us in common as merited. And on earth there prevaieth the coming to pay the tribute of death. For there will be the following after, the approaching to thy progenitor Mictlan tecutli, Cueçalli, Tzontemoc, who remaineth unsatiated, who remaineth coveting. He remaineth thirsting there for us, hungering there for us, panting there for us.

"O master, O our lord, consider yet those who lie on the board, those who are on the ground, those who know nothing, the poor, the miserable, the useless, those who rejoice not, the discontented, those who never have the necessities of life,²³ those never comfortable of bone, of flesh—those who all together live suffering great pain, great affliction of heart. Perchance somewhere thou wilt require the eagle warrior, the ocelot warrior; perchance he will go there to the house of the sun. Perchance he will follow Quauhtleuanitl,²⁴ the blotched one, the brave warrior. Perhaps he will provide drink, will provide food above us, in the land of the dead, the heavens.

"May this be all; cease amusing thyself, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O lord of the earth, O Moyocoyatzin, O Titlacauan! May

tlancoliuhquij: a ca oipan ompixauh, ca oipan vivi-xauh, ontzetzeliuh in acatl aoachio.

Tlacatle, totecoc, in mahan piltontli, conetontli, in atl, in tepetl: aço oqujcac, aço omononotz: aço oino-ma yiomotlan inacaztech man: aço oconmoluj in quexqujch: aco oinoma quavitl, tetl quijmomacac quijmotoci: aço omaoac omononotz: injc momac-tzinco mociauhpouhtoc, in mociauhquetztoc, in tlatetôtoc:

Manoçoc ixqujch tlacatle, totecoc, tlaçopille, tlaçotitlacatle: manoçoc centetl, ma oc itlaiecol: ma oc xicmopantili, xicmoteteuhtili: manoço iloti, ma cuepi in melleltzin, in moqualantzin: ma ceuj in moçomaltzin, in motlaveltzin: ma omelleltzin quijz. Cujx tel amjcovaz, campa çan ie nel nen onviloaz, ca totequjuh in mjqujztli, ca techcenmâceuh: auh ca mjqujztequjtihoaco in talticpac: ca ontocoz, ca itech onaxioaz, in motechiuhauch: in mjctlan tecutli, in cueçal, in tzontemoc: in acan veli quijchiuhtoc, in oallamatatacatoc, in techoalamjctoc, in techalteu-ciuhtoc, in techoalneneciuhtoc.

Tlacatle totecoc, ma oc iehoatl xicmottili, in quauje onoc, in tlalli ixco ca, in aia quijmomachitia: motolinja in jcnotlacatl, in nentlacatl, in aauja, in avellamati: auh in aic totonja, in aic iamanja: auh in aic vellamati, in jiomjo, in jnacaio: in çan cen tôteoneoatinemj, in ça çen chichichinacatinemj in jiollo: aço cana ticmonequjltiz, in quauhtli in ocelutl: aço vmpa iaz in tonatiuh ichan: aço qujtocaz in quauhtleojnjl, in cujcujliujc, in tiacauh: aço teatlitiz, tetlmacaz, in topā in mjctlan, in jlviac.

Manoço ie ixqujch, ma otimaviltitzino: tlacatle, totecue, tloquee, naoaquee, talticpaquee, moiocoia-tzine, titlacaoane: ma qujça in poctli in aiavitl: ma

21. Corresponding Spanish text: "pues ya es así, que vfo castigo, y vfa indignacion: se ã enseñoreado, y a gloriosamente preualecido, sobre estos vfos siervos, sobre esta pobre gente: bien así como las gotas del agua, que despues de auer llouido sobre los arboles, y cañas verdes: tocandoles el ayre, caen sobre los que estan debaxo de los arboles, o cañas."

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "por uentura ya esta gente pobre, por razon de vfo castigo, lloran, y sospiran, y se reprehenden a si mismos: y estan murmurando de si mismos, en vfa presencia se acusan, y tachā en si sus malas obras, y se castigan por ellas." For aco oinoma quavitl, etc., read aço, etc.

23. in aic totonja, in aic iamanja: cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

24. Quauhtleuanitl: "the ascending eagle" or "the soaring eagle." Garibay, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 402, defines the term as "Aguila que alza el fuego, nombre del sol en su estadio del orto al cenit." "Der aufsteigende Adler," in Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 276. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, "The Ceremonies," Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1951), p. 47.

the smoke, the cloud [of thy ire] cease; may the fire, the blaze [of thy rage] be extinguished! May the earth be at rest! May the roseate spoonbill,²⁵ the troupial²⁶ sing; may they preen themselves. May [thy people] call to thee, supplicate thee, know thee!

"This is all. Thus I fall before thee, I throw myself before thee; I cast myself into the place whence none rise, whence none leave, the place of terror, of fear. May I not have aroused thy annoyance; may I not have walked upon thy fury. O master, O precious nobleman, O our lord, perform thy office, do thy work!"

cevi in tletl in tlachinolli: ma momanan tlalli, ma tlato ma moçooçoo in quechol, in çaquan: ma mjtz-notza, ma mjtztlatlauhti, ma mjtziximati.

Ca ixqujchtzin injc mjpgantzinco njvetzi, injc mjpgantzinco njnomaiauj, njnotlaça in anequetzaloian, in aqujxooaian, in temauhtican in maviziocan: ma melleltzin njcquetz, ma motlaveltzin ipan nja. Tlacatle, tlaçopille: totecue ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtli.

25. *Quechol*: *Ajaia ajaia* (Linnaeus) in Herbert Friedmann, Ludlow Griscom, and Robert T. Moore: "Distributional Check-List of the Birds of Mexico," *Pacific Coast Avifauna*, Nos. 29, 33 (Berkeley, Calif.: Cooper Ornithological Club, 1950, 1957; henceforth referred to as Friedmann *et al.*), Pt. I, p. 35.

26. *Çaquan*: *Gymnostinops montezuma* (Lesson), in *ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 276. Both Friedmann *et al.* and Emmet Reid Blake, in *Birds of Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 506, identify the *çaquan* as *Gymnostinops montezuma* (Lesson) or *Montezuma oropendola*. While troupial is not strictly exact (representing, rather, a term applicable to a number of species), we have ventured to use the term for convenience's sake.



Second Chapter. Here are related the words which truly issued from their hearts as they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they named the night, the wind, as they asked riches, so that they would not be poor. Those who so prayed were the priests. And they indeed acknowledged that it was he who gave one riches, repose, and consolation, and happiness; for he gave one all wealth.

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O thou by whom we live, O night, O wind, O our lord, O Titlacauan, O Yaotzin, now in truth I arise before thee, I arrive before thee, thou who art lord of the near, of the nigh. In one word, or two, I call to thee, I cry out to thee for — on behalf of — the vassals, the useless; the ignorant; the vagabonds; those who sleep, who arise to no purpose; those who waste thy day, thy night.

"Ah, thou understandest, thou hearest that the common folk endure suffering, endure fatigue, live in want on earth. Poverty, misery, uselessness prevail.¹ Destitute are they whose tatters hang from their necks, their hips. There the wind cometh, there it carrieth them off, there it whippeth them about, there it taketh them away. They escape nowhere; indeed, they are in dire need as they go seeking sustenance,² going through all the forest, all the desert. And here, in truth, they glory in their thin intestines; their viscera go stuck to their sides; go rumbling. Verily they go skin and bones, like a skeleton.

"And behold, somewhere at one's house entrance he offereth old chilis, salt cakes. And when nowhere he succeedeth in selling, somewhere by one's enclosure, in a corner, by someone's wall, he is saddened;³ he is dry-mouthed; he moisteneth his lips, he cheweth his fingernails. He just continueth looking at the people, just looking at their mouths.⁴ And, O master,

Ic vme capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in tlatolli in vel iniollo intech qujcaia: injc qujtlatlauhtiaia tezcatlipuca: in qujtocaiaia iooalli, checatl: injc qujtlanjliaia necujltonoliztli, injc amo motolinjzque. Ichoantin ic tlatlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque ioan vel qujmocujtia, in ca ichoatl, qujtemaca in necujltonoliztli, yn neceujliztli: ioan in neiollaliliztli, ioan in papaqujiztli: ca ichoatl qujtemaca in jxqujch in netlamachtilli.

Tlacatle totecoc: tloquee, naoaquee, ipalnemoanje, ioalle, checatle, totecoc, titlacaoane, iaotzine: a ca nelle axcan mjspxantzinco njnoquetza, mjspxantzinco naci: in titloque, in tinaoque, cententica, ac cenamatica njmjtznotta, njmjtztatzilia: in jca in jpampa, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: in nentlacatl in aqujmatinemj, in nennemj, in nencochi, in nenmeva: in qujnenqujxtia in motlacatzin, in moiooaltzin:

a ca ticmocujlia, ticmocaqujtia: a ca tlaciavi, a ca tlaihiyovia in maceoalli, vmpa onqujztinemjn tlalticpac: timalivi in jcnopillotl, in jcnotlacaiutl, in nentlacaiutl: aommonamjquj in jquechtlan, in jquezpan pilcac, in jtzotzomatzin: in vmpa oallauh checatl, vmpa qujtquj, vmpa qujmalacachoa, vmpa qujmana: acanjn moqujxtia, nelli mach in toxomj, in oaomj injc qujmjxtemolitinemj in cochcaiutl, in neuhcaiutl: cenquaujtl, cemjxtlavatl mantih: aviz nelle qujtimaloa, in cujtlaxcolpitzactli: ytech mote-tecatinemj, itech icoiocatinemj in jcoaiotzin: nelli mach in omjcauhtinemj; in cicujliuhtinemj:

aujz nellehoatl can tequjaoatlan qujquequetza in chilcolotl, in iztatapalcatl: auh iz in acan ommaqujtia, can techinantitlan, can texomolco, can tecaltech itolol, imalcoch qujchiuhtica: tencaquaoatica, itentzin qujpalotica, yiztitzin qujtoponjtica: can avic moteijttilia, can tecamacpa motztilitica. Auh tlacatle, totecoc: in jvetzian, in jcochian: iuhcan o, nelli mach

1. *vmpa onqujatinemjn tlalticpac: timalivi in jcnopillotl.* See Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 76v (*Ompa onquiça*). Cf. Chaps. 41 and 43.

2. in *cochcaiutl*, in *neuhcaiutl*: "Mātenimiēto cotidiano" or "mātenimiento humano," in Molina, *op. cit.*, fols. 71r (*Neuhcayotl*) and 23r (*Cochcayotl*).

3. *itolol, imalcoch qujchiuhtica:* in Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 224, the meaning is given as "Ando triste, angustiado, y fatigado." Cf. also Chap. 43.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "y ellos las andan a vender de puerta, en puerta, y de casa en casa: y quando estas cosas, no se les venden: asientanse muy tristes, cerca de algun seto, o de alguna pared, o en algũ rincon: alli estan relamiendo los beços, y royendo las viñas de las mamos, con la hambre que tienen: alli estan mirando a una parte, y a otra, estã mirando a la boca de los que pasan: esperando que los digan alguna palabra." Cf. also Chap. 43.

O our lord, his reclining place, his sleeping place is such as verily where he endureth suffering, he endureth fatigue. He hath only tatters which he throweth over him, and in this manner he stretcheth out, in this manner he throweth himself down.

"And those whom they rear, whom they nourish, thy creations, are all blanched, all trembling in fear. Only [rags] hang from their hips. And in truth they endure hunger; they become all thin; they continue all to run about. They go about weeping, sighing. Truly they go about in great affliction. The entire day, the entire night they are ranged about the fire.

"O master, O our lord, O night, O wind, grant perchance that thou mayest bless, have mercy, take compassion, acknowledge thy common folk, the poor, those who go sighing toward thee, who call out, who cry out to thee, who seek thee, who do what they can in thy sight.

"O master, O our lord, O master of the necessities of life, who hast sweetness, fragrance,⁵ riches, wealth: show mercy, have compassion for thy common folk. May thou honor them, show them a little of thy freshness, thy tenderness, thy sweetness, thy fragrance, for in truth they struggle, they work for it. May they a little through thy grace raise their heads. May they through thy grace know repose for a little time. Through thy grace may the common folk have what is necessary for their bones, their bodies. May they through thy grace dream, may they see in their dreams. May they for yet a little time keep it for thee. Perhaps it will be taken, removed and hidden, concealed; that which was only for a little time, even as the flower which one hath smelled, hath marveled at.⁶

"If perhaps they should become arrogant, if perhaps they should become presumptuous, if perhaps they should become offensive — should keep for themselves thy property, thy possessions; if perchance because of it they should become perverse, heedless, thou wilt give it to the truly tearful, the sorrowful one, the truly sighing one, the truly miserable, the truly poverty-stricken one, the truly poor — those who enter by thee, near thee, the meek, those who prostrate themselves, who go saddened on earth;

in quihijovia, nelli mach in qujciavi achchi in tza tzomatzin in ipan qujoallaça: auh iuhquj ommotela.

Auh in qujoapaoa, in qujmjzcaltia in motlachial tzitzioan: tlacujtlaticoa, tlacuecuechca: achchi in jnquezman pilcac: auh nelli mach in cujtlaxcolpitin, tlacucicujliuj, tlaiaiauh: mochoqujlitinemj, melciciujtinitinemj: nelli mach in jmelacitinemj, ceioal, cemjlvitl in tlepan moteca.

Tlacatle totecoc: ioalle, checatle, manoço tlacaa in moiollotzin, ma xicmocnoittili, ma xicmotlaocolili, ma xicmjaximachili in momaceoaltzin: motolinja in movictzinco elciciuhtinemj: in mitzmonochilia, in mjtzmotatzililia, in mjtzmotemolia: in movictzinco nentlamati.

Tlacatle totecoc: totonque, iamanque, tzopelique, aviaque, necujltonolle, netlamachtile: manoço xicmocnoittili, ma xicmotlaocolili, ca momaceoaltzin: manoço achitzin qujmaviço, manoço achitzin xicmottitili in motzmolinca, in mocelica, in motzopelica in maviaca: ca nelli mach in qujhiiouja, in qujciauj: manoço achitzi mopaltzinco oalmotzonteconacocuj: manoço achica cavitl, mopaltzinco ontlacacotlamati: manoço achitzin cavitl, mopaltzinco ontotonja, onjmanja: in jiomjo, in jnacaio in maceoalli: manoço mopaltzinco ontemjquj, oncochitleoa: ma oc achica caujtl mjtzonmotlapialili: hat oconmocujliz, hat oconmjquanjliz: auh at oconmotlatiliz, hat oconmjnailiz, in oachica caujtzintli: in mahan xuchitl in oconjnecu in oconmaujço

in at oncuecuenotiz, in at onatlamatiz, in at iixco, icpac queoaz, qujmanaz, in maxcatzin, in mocococatzin: in aço ic ommjtonjz, in aço ic ommamanaz; hat oconmomaqujliz, in nelli chocanj, tlaocoianj, in uel elciciujnj in nelli icnotlacatl, in nelli icnopilli, in nelli motolinja: in motloctzinco in monavactzinco mocalaqujanj, in mopiloanj, in mopechtecanj, yn jtolol, in jmalcoch, qujchiuhtinemj tlalticpac: in nelli qujtoa, in nelli mjtzmomaqujlia in jniollo:

5. in motzopelica, in mariaca: see Chap. 43.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "suplicoos les deis dias de vida prosperos, y pacificos: quando fuerdes seruido, les podays quitar, y ascondet, y occultar, lo que les aueys dado: como lo ayan gozado, algunos pocos dias: como qujen goza de alguna flor olorosa, y hermosa: que en breue tiempo se marchita."

who truly dedicate, who truly give their hearts to thee.

"But if perhaps the people I now present before thee should become arrogant, these very same will discover, will earn as their reward, their merit, torment, pain, misery and blindness, paralysis. They will not be esteemed; will not be glorified; and they will be incapable on earth.⁷ Truly this thou wilt have in store for them. And that is also the time when they will sob, they will be terrified; punishment will appear — torment, pain of heart, of body, when they will discover, reflect on what is done. And are perhaps [the blessings] still there? For they have abandoned them, have erred, have strayed, have gone amiss from thy presence.

"And now, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, may thou incline thy heart, that by thy grace for yet a while they see in dreams, know in dreams. May thou yet let this humble person, N., smell thy property, thy treasure, which falleth from thee, that which is sweet, fragrant, the necessities of life, thy freshness, thy tenderness: for already, for some time, the common folk go sighing unto thee, go in affliction. They strike themselves, they crack their finger joints, they are in dire need, they suffer torment, pain, in heart, in body. [They are] the poor, the useless, the unhappy, the discontented, the anguished.

"For thus was [thy] city;⁸ for already in truth it is so that no one is verily the possessor of reward, no one is to say he is the possessor of merit; for it is only thou who showest compassion to one, who selectest one, for thou takest one, extractest one from excrement, from filth;⁹ thou cleanseest, thou bathest one. And thou humblest one. In the forest, in the grasslands thou takest, thou comest upon thy friend, thy acquaintance.

"O master, O our lord, may thy heart desire whatsoever thou mayest desire. This is all. Thus I cast myself, I throw myself before thee, I who am a commoner, a field hand. But perchance I may thereby stir thy fury, thy anger; I may thereby arouse, increase thy annoyance; I may thereby solicit, I may seek my destruction, my exaltation. Perchance I

auh in at oncucuenotiz, in axcan mixpantzinco njcquequetza: ha conjttaz, hat oconmottiliz in nelli vel iehoatl, ijlujl, imâceoal, in toneviztli in chichinaqujztli, in jcnioitl: auh in jxpopoioitl, in côco-totztli, acommaviçoz, auh acontimaloz: auh havmpa onqujçaz in tlalticpac, anelli mach in toconmotlatlachialtiliz: auh hano iquac tzicunoz, ha iquac mocuj-tiuetziz in ie cecec itech eoa, in ie toneoa in ie chichinaca in jiollo, in jnacaio; a iquac motlattaz, a iquac motztimotlaliz: auh ie cujx oc vnca? ca oconcauh, ca otlatlaco, ca omjxpantzinco tlacolo, tlauijtec.

Auh in axcan tlatcatle, totecoc: tloquee, naoaquee, manoço tlaçaoa in moiollotzin, manoçoc achitzinca mopaltzinco oncochitleoa, ontemictlamati: ma oc xoconmjnecujltli in maxcatzin, in mocococatzin, in motehcopatzinco vitz: in tzopelic, in aviac, in totonquj, in iamanquj, in motzmolinca in mocelica: in iehoa in jcnotlacatl in. N. ca ie ixqujch cavitizintli, y, in movicpatzinco elciciuhtinemj, in nentlamattinemj in maceoalli, in motzotzona, in mocacapanja, in toxomj, in hoaçomj, in toneoa, in chichinaca in jiollo, in jnacaio: in jcnotlacatl, in nentlacatl, in aavia in avellamati, in cococ in teopuhquj qujmati:

a ca iuh catca atzintli ca ie nelli ca iuhquj, ca aiac nelli ilujle, aiac qujtoz: maceoalle, ca çan timoteicnoittilia, ca çan timotepepenjlia: ca cujtlatitlan, ca tlaçultitlan timoteanjlia, timotequjxtilia, timotepapaqujlia, timoteahaltilia: auh çan timoteicnomachitia, quauhtla çacatla in ticmanjlia, in ticmonamjqujlia in mocnjuh in motlaiximach.

Tlatcatle, totecoc: manoço qujnequj in moiollotzin, in quecin toconmonequjltiz: ca ixqujchtzin, y, injc mixpantzinco ninotlaça, ninomaiavi, in njmaceoalli in njtlapaliuj: auh anoço ie ic njcolinja, in motlaueztzin in moqualantzin, aço ic nicçoneva, aço ic njcucapanoa in melleltzin, aço ic njcnjciujtilia, aço ic njctemoa in nopoliuja, in nacoqujçaa: anoço ic

7. havmpa: "inabíl, o el que haze la cosa al reuer" in Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 6v (*Aoompa*). Chap. 43 explains that "Este refran se dize: de vnos bobos o tontos que nj entiendē a derechas lo que les mandan." Cf. also n. 1, above.

8. atzintli: tepetzintli is understood.

9. ca cujlatitlan, ca tlaçultitlan timoteanjlia, timotequjxtilia: cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

thereby raise up, I stir up castigation; for I merely speak, I merely raise myself in thy presence. For it is a place of awe, a place of fear; for there is a torrent, a protruding crag, a cliff, a precipitous crag which standeth ash-colored, standeth chili-red. And things slip, things slide,¹⁰ no one escapeth thy presence.¹¹ And I, even I myself cast myself, throw myself into the water, into the cave, from the crag, into the torrent. And here I come to contract, to acquire blindness, paralysis, rottenness; the old maguey fiber cape, rags. For I have taken, I have assumed whatsoever I have as reward, as merit, I who am a commoner, a field hand. Perform thy office, do thy work, O our lord, O night, O wind. May I not reject thee, may I not falter before thee, O our lord."

njcacoleoa, aco ic njcolinja in quavitl, in tetl: ca can in njtlatoa, ca can in njnoquetza, in mjxpantzinco: ca tlamaviziocan, ca maujzpan, ca atoiatl ca, tepexitl quiquizticac, ca texcalli ca tepexitl viujtecticac, nexeoaticac chichileoaioticac: auh tlaalaoa, tlapetz-cavi, aiax onqujzca in mjxpantzinco: auh ca nehoatl ca njxcoian, ca nonoma nonnotlaça nonnomaiavi: in atlan in oztoc, in tepexic in atoiac: auh njcan njcuj-co njcanaco in jxpopoiotl in cocototztli, in palanjiz-tli, in aiaçulli, in tatapatli: auh ca onconcuje, ca onconmama in quenamj in nolujlti, in nomaceoalli in njmacehoalli, in njtlapaliuj: ma ximotequjtili ma ximotequjtili totecoc: ioalle, checatle, ma njmjtznolaxili, ma njmjtznotecujnjli totecoc.

10. *tlaalaoa, tlapetz-cavi*: see *ibid.*, p. 220. Cf. also Chap. 41, and Chap. 43.

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "bien se que estoy en un lugar muy eminente, y hablo con una persona de gran magestad, en cuya presencia, corre un río: que tiene una barranca profundissima, y prezissa, o taiada: y assimismo esta en vuestra presencia un resbaladero donde mas se despeñan: no ay nadie, que no yerre delante vuestra magestad..."



Third Chapter. Here are related the words which they uttered from their very hearts as they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they named Yaotl, Necoc yaotl,¹ Monenequi,² to request aid when war was waged. Those who so prayed were the priests. Very good are the metaphors, the figures of speech, with which they spoke. And from them it is quite apparent how they really believed that all those who died in war went there to the house of the sun, there to rejoice forever.

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind, O Moyocoya, O Monenequi, O Titlacauan, O Yaotl, verily warfare³ now taketh form, is born, stirreth, is inflamed, is bored with a firedrill.⁴ For Tlaltecuctli openeth his mouth, parteth his lips,⁵ and there appear the eagle vessel, the reed tube, the ritual feathering, the incomparable.

"And behold, verily the sun, Tlaltecuctli, will now be gladdened. And [the warrior] will give one drink, offerings, food above us, in the land of the dead. And as many as are above us, in the land of the dead, in the heavens, already lie watching, already lie beholding him who will obtain merit, the humble eagle warrior, the humble ocelot warrior, and the noble one⁶ who will attain the lap, the bosom⁷ of the sun, Tlaltecuctli. [The warrior] will gladden him, and

le ey capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in tlatolli in vel iniollocopa qujtoaia, injc qujtlatlauhtiaia tezcatlipuca: in qujtocaiotiaia iaotl necoc iaotl, monenequj: injc qujtlanjliaia in tepalcujliztli, in jquac iaoti muchioaia. Ichoantin ic tlatlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque: cenca quaqualli in metaphoras, in machio-tlatolli injc tlatoaia: ioan vel itech neci in quenjn vel qujneltocaia, ca in jxqujchtin in iaomjquja: vmpa viia in tonatiuh ichan, injc cemjcac vmpa mocujl-tonozque.

Tlacatle, totecoc: tloquee, naoaquee, ioalle, checatle, moiocoiatzine, monenequje, titlacavane iaotzine: a ca nelle axcan, ca ioli ca tlatati, ca molinja, ca mopitza ca momamali in teuatl, in tlachinolli: a ca camachaloea, ca tentlapanj in tlaltecutli: auh ca oalmomana in quauhxicalli, in quappiaztl in tlaponjlli in anemjuhquj:

aviz nelle axcan, maviltiz in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli: auh teatlitiz, tetlamacaz, tetlaqualtiz in topan in mjctlan: auh ca ie oalitztotoc ie oallachialotoc in topan in mjctlan, in jlviac in quezquj: auh in aqujn in tlanopilviz in jenoquauhtli, in jenoocelutl: auh in tetzon, in teizti, in texillan in tetrozcatlan actiaz, in caujltiz: auh in catlitiz, in qujtlamacaz in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli, yn jxtlaoacan, in jxtlaoatl inepantla, in jtlic in mopôpoiauhcoz, in mopopoiaoz: in

1. Necoc yaotl: "the enemy from both sides."

2. Monenequi: "obra como se le antoja," in León-Portilla, *op. cit.*, p. 385. Angel María Garibay K., in *Veinte himnos sacros de los nahuas*, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie de Cultura Náhuatl, Fuentes, 2 (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1958; hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Veinte himnos*), p. 181: "'mostrarse rehacio.' También remedar o fingir lo que no se es... Se usa para calificar al numen máximo: Monenequini, el arbitrario, el que hace su antojo, aquel a quien nadie puede poner restricción ni obstáculo."

3. in teuatl, in tlachinolli: teuatl—the real water, the divine water, or the sea; tlachinolli—the conflagration. Sahagún (see Chap. 43) explains the phrase as "El mar o la chamusquina... Por metáfora se dize: de la pestilencia o guerra..."

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "es cosa muy cierta, y averiguada, que comjença a fabricarse, ordenarse y formarse, y concertarse gran guerra."

5. Ibid.: "el dios de la tierra, abre la boca, con hambre de tragar la sangre de muchos, que muriran en esta guerra..."

6. in tetzon, in teizti: literally, "one's hair, one's fingernails." As explained by Sahagún (see Chap. 43), "Por metáfora se dize. Del que es noble o generoso o de linaje de señores hōbre o muger." It thus means nobleman or the offspring of noblemen. We shall translate it variously, according to the context.

7. in texillan in tetrozcatlan: literally, "in one's abdomen, in one's throat." According to Sahagún (see Chap. 43), texillan, tetrozcatlan oquja means: "Salio de las entrañas y de la garganta. Y por metáfora qujere dezir. Persona generosa que viene de personas ylustres: qujere dezir tambien. La platica o oracion que haze el orador que le sale de las entrañas y de la garganta." Angel María Garibay K., in "Huehuetlatolli, Documento A," *Tlalocan*, I, 1 (1943; hereafter referred to as Garibay, "Huehuetlatolli"), pp. 45, 50, offers several translations ranging from the more literal to the more metaphorical.

will provide him drink; will provide him offerings. On the desert, in the midst of the desert, within it, he will be brave, valiant.⁸ There he will be undone, scattered, cut to pieces. Then and there he will breathe his last.

"The mother, the father, the parent, the parent of the nobleman, the old men, the old women know not yet of it, nor do any of the kinsmen — one's aunt, one's uncle — know yet in what manner the begotten one may perish, nor the mother who gave him strength, the one by whose side he was lulled to sleep, the one who had placed him on her thigh, and the one who with her milk had indeed strengthened him.⁹

"However, for the little that was done in order that he be strengthened, grow, develop, the father suffered want.¹⁰ In truth he consumed his strength. In truth he endured anguish in going in search for sustenance and for that which hangeth upon us, that which we hang on our hips, about our necks.

"Do they yet perhaps know in what manner their begotten one may perish? Perhaps he will be captured or perhaps then and there his mission will end. May [our lord] receive him peacefully and gently. May he go to rest in the lap, the bosom, the embrace of our mother, our father, the sun, the lord of the earth.

"Be not mistaken about them, for they have been dedicated [on earth], there promised, born at this time, sent to such a place to provide drink, to provide food, to provide offerings for the sun, for the lord of the earth. And do not school thyself concerning it, for there [on the plain] rest, there lie scattered the sons of noblemen, the precious green stones, the bracelets, the precious items: for there like necklaces, like precious feathers thou placest them, arrange them in order, recordest their names there.

"O master, O Yaotl, O Titlacauan, O Tezcatlipoca, O night, O wind: may there be peace, repose, for whomsoever is brought unto the lap, the bosom [of the god]. And as many as thou hast rewarded [with death], may they in peace, in repose attain the sun, which endureth, shineth; the resplendent one, the ascending eagle, the well-blotched one, the ashen one, the eagle, the ocelot, the valiant warrior, the

vncan xixitinjloz, momoiaaoaloz, in tzatzaianaloz, in njman vncan yhiotl quijçaz:

a mach oc commati in nantli, in tatli, in tlacachivale, in tzone, in jzte, in veve, in jlama: auh in ça noço, ac teoaniolcatzin in teaujtzin, in tetlatzin: mach oc commati in quen poliuj in tlacachioalli: anca quen oqujmotetzavili in tenantzin, in jtlan ocochiaiaticatca, in jmetzpan qujtlatlaliticatca: auh in jmemeialotzin, quemeca ic oqujmotetzaujli,

quen achi muchih, injc otetzauac, injc oalmozcaltli, injc ooapaoac: in tetatzin ovmpa onqujz, nelli mach in oontla itlapaliviz, nelli mach yn oiiellelacie injc oqujxtemotinen in cochcaiuatl, in neeuhauiatl: auh ic ichoatl, in totech vmpilcac, in toquezpan, in toquechtlan tocompiloo:

cujx oc commati in quen poliuj in jtacachioal, in cujx calaqujloz, in cujx noço njman vncan vetziz tequjtl: ma çan ivian, ma çan iocuxca qujvalmanjiz, ma ixillan ma itozcatlan, ma imacochco, ommoteca-tiuh in tonan, in tota, in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli:

ca amo ticmotlanevilia, ca vncan pouhquj, ca vncan itauhquj ca ipan motlacatili, ca iuhcan oalialoc, in catlitiz, in qujtlaqualtiz, in qujtlamacaz in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli: auh ca amo ica timomachtitzino, ca vncan onoque, ca vncan xamantoque, in tepilhoan, in chalchihuitin, in maqujztin, in tlaçoti ca vncan cozcateuh, quetzalteuh timotemanjlia, timotevipanjlia: vncan timoteicujlvia.

Tlacatle iaotzine, titlacaoane, tezcatlipuca, ioalle, ehecatle: manoço ivijan, iocuxca texillan, tetozcatlan maqujltitiaz in ac ichoatl: auh in quezquj oticmomecujli, manoço ivian, iocuxca itech onaciz in tonatiuh in manjc in tlanexti in totonametl, in quauhtleooanjtl, in vel cujcujujic in nexeoac in quauhtli in ocelutl, in tiacauh, in oqujchtli, in javmjcquj in xipilli: auh manoço yvian, iocuxca intech onaciz in

8. in mopopoiauhxoz, in mopopoiaouaz: in Olmos, op. cit., p. 216, "Persona valiente o esforçada."

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "y afines, y las amas que los criaron quando niños, y los dieron la leche, con que los criaron."

10. ovmpa onqujz: "persona muy pobre y necesitada" — Molina, op. cit., fol. 76v (Ompa onquiza). Cf. also vmpa onqujçan tlalticpaz, Chap. 41.

brave warrior, the one who died in war, the turquoise prince. And may they in peace, in repose, arrive among the valiant warriors, those who died in war, the noblemen, Quitzicquaquatzin, Maceuhcatzin, Tlacauerpantzin, Ixtlilcuechauac, Ihuitl Temoc, [and] Chahuacuetzin;¹¹ and all, all the several eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors who are in the heavens where they gladden the sun, the turquoise prince, the valiant warrior, the one who died in war — they cry out to him there.

"And there, always, forever, perpetually, time without end, they rejoice, they live in abundance, where they suck the different flowers, the fragrant, the savory. In this wise the valiant warriors live in joy, in happiness. It is as if they live drunk [with joy and happiness], not knowing, no longer remembering the affairs of the day, the affairs of the night, and no longer giving heed to one year, to two years. Eternal is their abundance, their joy. The different flowers they suck, the choice ones, the flowers of joy, the flowers of happiness: to this end the noblemen go to death — go longing for, go desiring [death].

"And now, O master, O our lord, O Titlacauan, may they rest peacefully, calmly in the lap, in the bosom, in the embrace of our mother, our father, the sun, the lord of the earth. May he take [them], may he admit [them]!

"And thou dost thy labor, thou dost thy duty, O master, O our lord. All the different eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, those who suffer pain, who suffer torment in their hearts, who are anguished, those who call upon thee, who cry out to thee, those who put no value upon their heads, upon their breasts, those who hurl missiles against, who press upon [the enemy] as they wish for death: concede them the little that they desire, that they long for, the chalk, the down feathers.¹² Assign them to the mother of the sun, the father of the sun that they may provide drink, provide food, provide offerings to those above us, those in the land of the dead, in the heavens.

tiacavan in iaomjcque, in tepilhoan: in Quitzicquaquatzin, in Maceuhcatzin, in Tlacavepantzin, in Ixtlilcuechauac, in Hivitl temoc in Chahuacuetzin: auh in ie muchintin, in ie ixqujchtin, in quauhti in ocelo, in jlvcatl itic, in vmpa cauilitia in tonatiuh, in xippilli in tiacauh in iavmjcuq yn vmpa coiouja:

auh in vmpa motlamachtia mocujltonoa, in cemjacac in muchipa in cemanquj, in acan tlanquj in qujchichina in nepapan xuchitl, in aviiac: in velic injc pactinemj, injc aujxtinemj in tiacahoa: injc iuhqujma ivintitinemj, in aqujmati in aoc qujlnamjquj in tlein cemjlvitl, in tlein ceioaal: auh in aoc qujximati in cexiuh, in oxiuh in çan cēmanquj in jnnecujltonol, in jnnetlamachtitl, in qujchichina nepapan xuchitl, in aiectli in paqujlizxuchitl, in ahaujalizxuchitl, in jpan mjctiuj, in qujcolitiuj in tepilhoan in queleujtiuj.

Auh in axcan tlacatl, totecoc: titlacaoane, ma ivian, iocoxca yxillan, itozcatlan, imacochco ommoteca in tonan, in tota, in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli: ma qujoalmanjli, ma qujoalmocelili:

auh ca timotlacotilia, ca timotequjtilia, tlacatl totecoc: in ie ixqujch nepapan quauhtli ocelutl: in toneoa, in chichinaca in jiollo, in nentlamati in mjtzmonochilia, in mjtzmotatzililia: in amo qujtlacotla in jtzontecan in jelchiqujuh, in teca qujmotla, in teca qujtepachoa in mjqujznequj: manoço achitzin xicmottitili in qujnequj, in queleuja, in tiçatl, in jvitl: manoço xicmomachiotili in tonatiuh inan, in tonatiuh ita, in teatlitiz, in tetlaqualtiz, in tetlamacaz in topan in mjctlan, in jlvcac:

11. Quitzicquaquatzin, etc. These were famous warriors during the reign of Motecuzoma Xocoyotzin (about 1494). They were memorialized in song. See Antonio de Peñafiel: *Cantares mexicanos* (copy of the Biblioteca Nacional de México MS, 1904), fol. 65r. For a translation, see Angel María Garibay K.: *Panorama literario de los pueblos nahuas* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1963; hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Panorama*), p. 46.

12. in tiçatl, in jvitl: on p. xxvii of *Poesía náhuatl*, II, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Serie de Cultura Náhuatl, Fuentes, 5 (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965; hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Poesía II*), Angel María Garibay K. notes: "Lit. 'grada y pluma fina.' En sentido de víctima para el sacrificio..." On p. 145 of *Poesía náhuatl*, I (same series and publisher, Fuentes 4, 1964; hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Poesía I*), he calls attention to "El sacrificado... adornado con plumas blancas y con rayas de tiza o gis."

"And those who will guard the eagle mat, the ocelot mat,¹³ those who will govern, those who will be Tlacatecatl, those who will be Tlacochcalcatl, make them mothers, make them fathers of the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors who travel all the forest, all the plain, of those who seek out the cliff, the gorge.

"In their hands will rest the eagle vessel, the reed tube, the ritual feathering. And they will enrich thee, they will enrich and will honor [others] with the shield, the device, the lip pendant, the head band, the ear plug, the ear pendant, the wristband, the band for the calf of the leg, the breech clout, the cape, the vestment.¹⁴ And they will enrich those whose desert, whose merit it is, who will obtain, who will gain as merit the precious green stones, the precious turquoise, the precious feathers, and the gold which are thy freshness, thy tenderness, thy sweetness, thy fragrance which cometh from thy body.

"And may all, the eagle warrior, the ocelot warrior, merit a little; may [the warrior] be covered with chalk, with down feathers. Show him the marvel. May his heart falter not in fear. May he savor the fragrance, the sweetness of death by the obsidian knife.¹⁵ With his heart may he gladden Necoc tene, the ritual feathering, [the goddess] Itzpapalotl. May he desire, may he long for the flowery death by the obsidian knife. May he savor the scent, savor the fragrance, savor the sweetness of the darkness, the din of battle, the roar of the crowd. Take his part; be his friend.

"And as thou art Necoc yaotl, as thou art Moyocatzin, as thou art Moquequelo,¹⁶ so that none be at thy borders, intoxicate our foes; inebriate them, make them drunk. May they cast themselves into the hands of, may they deliver themselves to, may they come unaware upon our humble eagle warriors, our humble ocelot warriors, who rejoice not, who are discontent, who live in torment, who live in pain on earth.

"Incline thy heart, O master, O our lord, O god, O Teimatini, O Techichiuni, to arrange, to order

auh in quipiaz in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl, in quipachoz, in tlacateccatiz, in tlacochcalcatiz: ma xicmonantili, ma xicmotatili in quauhtli, in ocelutl, in cenquaujtl, in cemjxtlaoatl mantiuh: in qujmotitia in texcalli, in atlahtli:

in jmac manjz in quauhxicali, in quappiaztl in tlapotonjlli: auh in mjtzmotlatotonjliz, in qujtotonjz: auh in qujtimaloz in chimalli, in tlaviztli, in tençacatl, in tlalpilonj, in nacochtli, in cucueiochtli, in mamecatl, in cotzeoatl, in maxtlatl, in tilmatli, in quemjtl: auh in qujtotonjz, in jlvtiz, in jmaceoaltiz, in qujcnopilviz, in qujmaceoaz in chalchiuhtli, in teuxiujtl, in quetzalli: auh in teucujtlatl in motzmolinca, in mocelica in motzopelica, in maviaca: in motehcopatzinco vitz, in monacaiotzin:

auh in ie ixqujch in quauhtli, in ocelutl: manoç achitzin qujcnopilvi, ma achitzin itech matilivi in tiçatl, in jvitl, ma xicmottitili in tlamaviçolli, macamo mavi in jiollo, ma caujiacamati, ma qujtzopelicamati in jtzmjqujiztli, ma ica in jiollo cavilti, in necoc tene, in tlapotonjlli, in jtzpapalotl, ma qujnenequj, ma quehelevi in jtzmjqujzxuchitl, ma qujuelicamati, ma caujiacamati, ma qujtzopelicamati in ioallli, in tlacocomotzaliztli, in jcavaqujiztli: ma xicmoviviti, ma xicmocnuhti.

Auh injc tinecoc iautzin, injc timoiocalatzin, injc timoquequelo, injc aiac motenpan: ma xicmotla-oantili, ma xicmjvintili, ma xicmoxocomjctili yn toiaouh, ma imac oalmotlaça, ma qujoalmomaca, ma ica oalmomotla in tocnouquah, in tocnocelouh, in aiavia, in avellamati, in toneoatinemj, in chichinacatinemj in tlalticpac.

Ma tlacaa in moiollotzin tlatatle, totecoc, teutle, teimatinje, techichivanje: ma ximotlatlatlilili, ma

13. in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl: Sahagún expands the meaning thus (Chap. 43): "Anētos y estrados ay de tigres y aguijas. Por metaphora qujere dezir. Ay en este pueblo o en esta ciudad gēte de guerra soldados y hombres valientes que la guardan que murriran por su defension."

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "y tambien a de estar en su mano, el destribuir vuestras dignidades: que son los oficios, y armas de la guerra, como son rodela..."

15. jztzmjqujzxuchitl: in Garibay, Poesia I, p. 142, "muerte florida a la obsidiana"; p. 145, "muerte en la guerra, muerte en el sacrificio."

16. timoiocalatzin is the spelling of the Florentine Codex; moquequelo: "the mocker."

things, to establish the people. May the realm be rich, prosperous; may it grow, may it increase. May it gain ferocity, glory in war. May the eagle warrior, the ocelot warrior, endure, live — he who is the gladdener, the servant, of the sun. Somewhere, sometime, thou wilt grant that they will follow the sun, Tlaltecutli.

"They will arrive among, will belong with the valiant warriors, those who died in war, the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors who receive, who gladden the resplendent one, the turquoise prince. And they suck the different flowers; in the heavens, the home of the sun, they honor him.

"This is all with which I address thee, with which I speak unintelligibly to thee, O our lord."

ximotlatecpanjli, ma ximotemamanjli ma necujltonolo, ma netlamachtilo, ma veia, ma vecapanjvi in quappetlatl, in ocelupetlatl: ma motequaiotl, ma motleioti in teuatl, in tlachinolli: ma ioli, ma tlacati in quauhtli, in ocelutl, in tonatiuh iteavilticauh, in jtetlamacacauh, in çan canjn, in çan quēman in ticmamacaviliz in contocaz in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli:

in jntech onaciz, in jntech vmpoujz in tiacaoan, in iavmjçque, in quauhtin ocelo: in qujnamjquj, in caujltilia in totonametl in xippilli: auh in qujchichina nepapan xuchitl, in qujtlamachtia in jlvcatl itic, in tonatiuh ichan.

O ca ixqujtzin ic njmitznotza: ic njmjtzpôpôlotza totecujoe.



Fourth Chapter. Here are related the words which came from their very hearts when they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they named creator of men,¹ knower of men,² seer into men's hearts and men's thoughts, as they asked help in behalf of the ruler who had been installed, who had been chosen, in order that he might exercise well the office of ruler. Those who so prayed were the priests. Very subtle sentiments are here expressed.

"Now, already at this very time, the sun hath shined, hath dawned, hath come to appear.³ It hath become day. The precious green stone, the bracelet, the precious turquoise have been cast, have been perforated. The torch, the light which will guard the city, which will assume the task, the burden, hath formed, been born, budded, blossomed, come to establish itself. [The new ruler] is the one who will then serve as substitute, will then help bear the responsibility, for those already gone beyond, for those who recently, a little while ago, came to assume thy troubles for thee in thy world, and who came to be, came to pass by thy principal place of authority, who came to keep watch for thee for a little time,⁴ for but a day; who departed leaving, left standing the large bundle, the large carrying frame, intolerable, insupportable, heavy.

"Verily, now, how hath the commoner, the stupid one,⁵ N., looked to thee — he who briefly, for yet a little while, will bear afflictions for thee on thy reed mat, thy reed seat?

"O master, O our lord, art thou perchance in need of men, in need of friends? For thy friends are formed, are born. Innumerable are thy friends. But how hath this commoner looked upon thee? Is it

le navi capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in tlatolli, in vel iniollo itech qujcaia, in jquac qujtlatlauhtiaia tezcatlipuca, in qujtoaia: teiocaianj, teiximatinj, qujt-tanj in teiollo, ioan in tetlalnamiqjuz: injc qujtlaniliaia tepaleviliztli, in jpampa tlatoanj in otlaliloc, in opepenaloc, injc vel qujchioaz in jlatocatequjuh. Ichoantin ic tlatlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque, cenca ohovi in sentencias in vncan moteneoa.

In axcan: at ie nellaxcan otonac, otlathujc, omo-manaco in tonatiuh otlanez: ca opitzaloc omamaliaoc in chalchiuhtli, in maqujztli, in teuxiujtl: oiol, otlacat, oxotlac, ocuepon, omoquetzaco in ocutl, in tlavilli in apiaz in tepepiatz: in tlatqujz, in tlama-maz, in qujn qujmjlpatlaz, in qujn qujmjlceviz: in ie nachca mantivi, in oc uel achic, yn oachitzinca mjtzmotlaamanjlilico in motlalticpactzinco: auh in mopetlaquac, in mocpalquac ooieco, oonqujçaco, in omjtzmotlapielilico, in achica cavitl, in cemjlvitl: in oconcauhteoque, in oconquetzteoague in vei qujmilli, in vei cacaxtli in aiehoaliztli, in aixnamjqjuztli in etic.

Ha nelle axcan: quen omjtzmotlachialtili in maceoalli, in aommati in jxco, in jcpac, in. n. in oc cuel achic, in oc achitzinca mjtzmotlateupovililiz: in mopetlapantzinco, in mocpalpantzinco.

Tlacatle, totecoc: cujx timotlacatolinja, cujx timocnjuhtolinja, ca iuli, ca tlacati in mocnjuh, can tlamjc mocnjuh: auh injn maceoalli quen omjtzmotlachialtili, cujx ticmotlanevilia, cujx ica timotlate-

1. *teiocaianj*: "creator of men." See Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), p. 171 (*yocoya*); cf. also Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 230, and León-Portilla, *La filosofía náhuatl*, p. 389.

2. *teiximatinj*: "knower of men." See Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 194 (*iximati*).

3. The phrase relates to the account of the creation of the sun. See Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, Book VII, "The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years," Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1953), p. 4.

4. *achica*: cf. Garibay, *Llave*, p. 67.

5. *aommati*, in *jxco*, in *jcpac*: cf. *Aōmati ijxco*, *icpac*, Chap. 43.

possible that thou hast confused him with another? Wilt thou perhaps seek one wherewith [to replace] the commoner, the disobedient one who understandeth things backwards and who is impulsive, who is useless, who liveth in vain on earth?⁶

"Thou hast already inclined thy heart, for already thou knowest the inner nature of things, so that thou hast already disposed accordingly. May thy will be done according as thy heart desireth. Perhaps for a little while, perhaps for a day, perhaps for a little time, he will assume thy troubles for thee. Perhaps he will be stupid; perhaps he will constantly steal; perhaps he will pilfer; perhaps he will keep his own counsel; perhaps in secret he will cook things up for himself; perhaps he will be rude, will seize the government;⁷ perhaps he will be quarrelsome; perhaps he will belittle others, will be precipitate, perverse. Accordingly, already thou knowest within thyself how thou wilt determine for him how [he will be] in a few days. For verily on earth thou art merely amused, thou art only made to laugh.⁸

"Accordingly his debility will destroy [his office]; he will lose it [by] his sleep, for thou knowest, thou understandest, the things within the wood, the rocks; he will lose it [by virtue of] his thoughts. Thou wilt cast him into the dung heap, thou wilt cast him into the refuse heap; he will gain as his deserts, as his merit, blindness, paralysis, tatters, rags. And thou wilt trample him underfoot; thou wilt destroy him.

"And this, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind, O thou by whom we live, O Teyocoyani, O Teimatini, O our lord: incline thy heart; show mercy, illuminate the poor one, the commoner, the sightless one, the blind one. Reveal to him the torch, the light, the splendor for whatsoever he performeth, for whatsoever he doth, for whatsoever way he followeth. Thou knowest, accordingly, in what manner thou wilt desire, in what manner thou wilt dispose—in what manner the night, the day, the daytime will result, will take form.

"O master, O our lord, incline thy heart. Is it perhaps man's doing if he indulgeth himself in something, if in something he goeth astray, goeth amiss

molía in maceoalli, in amo tlacamati, in avmpe cheoa: auh in aihivia, in nentlacatl, in çan qujpícinemj tlalticpac.

Oieh tlacauhquj in moiollotzin, ca ie tehoatzin tocommomachitia, anca ie ticmjmachilia, anca ie qujnequj in moiollotzin, in quecin ticmonequjiltia: aço achica, aço cemjlvitl, aço achica cavitl mjtzmotlaamanjiliz aço onjxtotomaoaz, aço ontlacujcujtiuetziz, aço monelchiaoaz, aço itic tlatoz, aço itic motlaxqujz: aço ixco, icpac queoaz, qujmanaz in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiotl, aço onmâmaçovaz, aço teixco, teicpac onnemjz, aço onjcicatinemjz, aço mjttonjz: anca ie tehoatzin, toconmomachitia, in quen toconmonequjiliz, anca quen macujl, matlac: ca nel çan taujtilo, çan titlavevetzqujtilo in tlalticpac:

anca ijic conpoloz, anca icochiz concaviliz, ca quavitl, ca tetl, itic timotlamachiltia timotlacaqujti, ca itic itlatoliz in concaviliz, tiqualmotlaxiliz cujtlatitlan, tlaçultitlan, toconmotlaxiliz, conjcnopilviz, conmomaceviz in ixpopoiotl, in cocototztli, in tzo-tzomatli, in tatapatli: auh toconmoxcipachilviz toconmotlatiliz.

Auh injn, tlacatl teotecoe: tloquee naoaquee, iooalle, checatle, ipalnemoanje, teicoianje tehimatijnje teotecoe: ma tlacaa in moiollotzin, ma xicmoneelili, ma xicmotlavilili: motolinja in maceoalli, in ixtepetla, in jxpopoioitl, ma xicmottitili in ocutl, in tlavilli in tlanextli: in catlehoatl onaiz, in catlehoatl conchiaoaz, in catlehoatl contocaz: tehoatzin toconmomachitia, anca quen toconmonequjiltiz, anca quen ticmjmachiliz, anca quen qujtlaçaz, qujqujxtiz in iooalli in tlatatli, in cemjlvitl.

Tlacatl, teotecoe: ma tlacaa in moiollotzin, cujxonmotlacaicoia intlan oc itla qujmavilti, intla itla ic mjxpantzinco tlacolo, tlauljtequj in petlapan, in

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "es por uñtura que le aueys puesto prestado, entre tanto que buscays otro, que lo haga mejor, que este rustico y indiscreto, y desatentado, y hombre sin prouecho, y hombre que biue en este mundo por demas."

7. in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiotl: see Chap. 43.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "vuestra magestad sabe, a que se a de inclinar desde aquí a pocos dias: porque nosotros los hombres, somos vuestro espectáculo, o vuestro theatro, de quien vos os reys, y os regozijays..."

before thee in the realm there where people are washed, there where rest the dark blue, the yellow waters? There is being bathed thy progenitor, the mother of the gods, the father of the gods, Ueueteotl, who is set in the navel of the earth, who lieth in the turquoise enclosure, who is [enclosed] with the waters of the lovely cotinga, enclosed with clouds.⁹

"Verily, that which a man will do, that which he will perform to attract thy wrath, thy anger, thy annoyance, to stir up castigation is not his doing. Open his eyes, open his ears, advise him, set him upon the road, guide the commoner. Consider not only the commoner, the laborer; consider the governed. Verily, now, inspire him, animate him, for thou makest of him thy seat, for he is as thy flute. Make him thy replacement, thy image. Let him not there on the reed mat, the reed seat become proud; let him not be quarrelsome. May he in peace and calm go accompanying, leading the common folk. May he not make sport of the common folk. May he not disunite the people; may he not destroy them in vain.

"And may he not blemish,¹⁰ not besmirch the reed mat, the reed seat — thy reed mat, thy reed seat; thy glory, thy honor, thy rule. For he hath taken them; thou hast accorded them; thou hast favored him; he hath received compassion. For already he taketh pride, already he glorieth, in the precious, the good, the wonderful. For thou hast placed [raiment] on his arms, on his feet, in his lips, on his head; for he hath taken the peaked cap, the turquoise diadem, the maniple, the wrist band, the leather band about the calf of the leg, the lip plug, the ear plug. May they not cause him to be perverse, brazen. May he stand guard for thee in peace and quiet.

"O master, O our lord, may he in peace arrange for thee, order for thee, upon the reed mat, the reed seat, the place of honor. Determine for him; ordain for him; incline thy heart, O our lord. May he not soon do something, perform something [evil]. Go revealing thyself to him; go instructing him. And, furthermore, ordain that he belittle no one on earth. Also, concede him, let him experience, send him to the midst of the desert, to the center of the desert, to the field of battle.¹¹ May he know the home of

jcpalpan: in vncan motepapaqujlitica, in vncan manj in matlalatl, in toxpalatl, in vncan moteahaltilitica, in motechiuhcauh, in teteu innan, in teteu inta, in veveteutl in tlalxicco maqujtoc, in xiuhtetzaqualco monoltitoc, in xiuhtototica mjxtatzacujlitica:

ca amo motlacaiocoia, in tlein onaiz, in tlein conchiaoaz, injc conmjtanjz in moçomaltzin, in moqualantzin, in melleltzin, injc conolinjz in quavitl, in tetl: manoço xicmjxtomjli, ma xicmonacaztlapolvi, ma xicmotlachialtili, ma xicmohtequjli, ma xicmoiacanjli in maceoalli, maca çan ie xicmottili in maceoalli, in tlapalivi: ma ie xicmottili in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli: manoço nelle axcan, ma xicmjpicchili, ma itech ximjhijotitzino, ca monetlaxoniuh ticmuchiuja, ca motlatlapitzal, ma xicmoviti, ma xicmopatiloti: macanoçomo vncan ontlatlamattie in petlapan, in jcpalpan, macamo onmamaçouhtie: manoço ivian ma iocoxca convicatiuh, conotlatocti in maceoalli, macamo ica ommaviltiz in maceoalli, macamo texaxamatzaz, macamo tetlapicquaz:

auh macamo conjçoloz: macamo conteuhiotiz in petlatl, in jcpalli, in mopetlatzin, in mocpaltzin, in motleiotzin, in momaviziotzin, in motlatocaiotzin: ca oconcuje, ca oticmomacavili, ca oticmocnelili, ca otlaocoliloc, ca ie tlamaujçoa, ca ie qujtimaloa in tlaçotli, in iectli, in maviztic: ca otocōmotlatlatlilili in jmac in jcxie, in jtenco, in jcpac, ca oconcuje in tepeiotl, in xiuhvitzolli, in matacaxtli, in matemecatli, in cotzeoatl, in tentetl, in nacochtli. Macanoçomo iehoatl qujtonjz, caquetzaltiz: manoço ivian, iocuxca in mitzommotlapialili:

tlacatle, totecoc: ma ivian mjtzonmotlatlatlilili, mjtzonmotlatetequjlili in petlapan, in jcpalpan, in momaviziocan: a ma noço xicmjtalvi, ma xicmonequjli, ma tlacaoa in moiollotzin, totecoc: macamo çan cucl itla onai, itla conchiao, ma ipan xioalmoqujxtituih, ma xiqualmomachitituih: auh iequene manoço xicmonequjli, ma teixco nen in talticpac: ma çan noço cucl xicmomacavili, ma ie ontlamati, ma ie xoconmjvali in jxtlaoatl inepantla, in jxtlatlatl itic, in teuatenpan, in tlachinoltanpan: ma ie

9. Read *xiuhtototica mixtatzacujlitica*, as in Chap. 17.

10. *conjçoloz*: cf. Chap. 43.

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y si esto no aueys de hazer: ordenad desde luego que sea aborrecido, y mal querido, y muera en la guerra a manos de sus enemigos..."

the sun; let his heart, his body go on to be the precious green stone, the precious turquoise, the bracelet which he giveth to the sun, that he not appear dishonored, [not] go being offensive. O master, O our lord, O Teimatini, O Techichiuani, incline thy heart."

ontlamati in tonatiuh ichan ma onchalchiuhtituih, ma onteuxiuhtituih ma ommaqujztituih in jiollo, in jnacaio in conmaca in tonatiuh, macamo ommjçolotuih. Tlacatle totecoc: teimatinje, techichioanje: ma tlacaoa in moiollotzin.



Fifth Chapter. Here are related the words with which they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, whom they called Titlacauan, Moquequelo, when the ruler died, in order that another be installed. And this discourse he who was the principal priest repeated. Here are told many good discourses.

"He hath gone. Thou hast hidden him, thou hast placed him underfoot, thou hast placed him in retreat.¹ He hath known our home, the place with no outlets, the place with no openings.² Already he lieth resting, for he hath known the so-called place of no fleas.

"Briefly, for a while, N. hath come to assume thy troubles for thee on earth. And truly thou hast caused him to smell, thou hast caused to pass before his lips, thy sweetness, thy fragrance. Thou hast caused him to see, thou hast caused to pass before his face, thy glory, thy wonder, the rule, the governing. For a day, for a while, he came to assume thy troubles for thee. And he came to reap reward on thy reed mat, thy reed seat; there he came to await thy spirit, thy word; there he came to sigh, he came to call out to thee in sadness.

"He knew, he hath followed our mother, our father Mictlan tecutli, Tzontemoc, Cueçalli,³ who remaineth thirsting for us, who remaineth hungering for us, who remaineth panting, who remaineth coveting, who remaineth restless; by night, by day he remaineth demanding, he remaineth crying out.

Ic macuilli capitulo, vncan moteneoa in tlatolli: injc qujtlatlauhtiaia Tezcatlipuca, in qujtocaiotiaia titlacaoa, moquequelo, in jquac mjuja tlatoanj, injc oc ce motlatocatlaliz. Auh injn tlatolli, ichoatl qujtoaia in vei tlenamacac catca, mjec in vncan mote-neoa: in quaqualli tlatolli.

Ca ooiatia, ca otoconmotlatili, ca otoconmoxipachilvi, ca otoconmotoptemjli, ca otoconmopetlacaltemjli: ca ontlama in tochan in apochqujaoaiocan, in atlecalocan: ca ie qujcevitoc, ca oontlama in mjtoa in atecpitla:

in ocuelachic, in oachitzinca, in omjtzommotla-amanjlilico in talticpac in. N. auh in onellehoatl in otoconmjnecujltili, in oitentlan toconmoqujxtili in motzopelica, in maviaca, in otoconmottitili, in oixtlan toconmoqujxtili in motleio in momavizio: in tecujotl, in tlatocaiotl, in ocemjlvitl, in oachica mjtzmotlaamanjlilico: auh in oontlamaviçoco in mopetlaquac in mocpalquac, in vncan oconchiaco in mjhijo, in motlatol, in vncan oonclcivico, in omjtzontlaocolnonotzaco.

A ca oontlama, ca oontocac in tonan, in tota in mjctlan tecutli in tzontemoc in cueçal, in techualamjctoc, in techualteuciuhtoc, in oalneneciuhtoc, in oallamatatacatoc: in acan veli qujchiuhtoc in ceioal, in cemjlvitl oallaitlantoc, in oaltatzitoc:

1. *ca otoconmotoptemjli, ca otoconmopetlacaltemjli*: cf. *toptema, petlacaltema*, "to put away in a coffer, to put away in a reed basket." Corresponding Spanish text: "ya esta en su recogimiento..." Cf. Garibay, *Llave*, p. 116: "topco, petlacalco — en secreto — en morral y caja."

2. *in apochqujaoaiocan, in atlecalocan*: we have consistently translated the *difranismo* as "the place with no outlets, the place with no openings," in part to avoid use of "chimney" or "fireplace"; cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book III, "The Origin of the Gods," Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1952), p. 39, n. 3a; also cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 147r, and Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 638 (*tlecalli*). A more literal translation would be "a place without a smoke opening, a place without a chimney (or fireplace)." Corresponding Spanish text: "donde nj ay ventana, nj luz njn-guna..." In Garibay, "Huehuetlatolli," p. 85, the sense seems to depend upon reading *atle-callocan*, "donde no hay aposentamiento" (rather than *a-tlecalocan*); likewise Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 990, Vol. III, p. 330 (where, however, *apochquiauayocan* is read for *apochquiauayocan*), translating *atle callocan* as "wo keine Gassen gibt."

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "ya se fue a donde esta nuestro padre, y nuestra madre, el dios del infierno, aquel que descendio cabeça abaxo al fuego..." On Tzontemoc, see Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 300 ("König der Unterwelt"), Vol. V, p. 183 ("Todesgott"). — Cueçali (*cueçal*): red arara feathers in Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 466; equated with flame, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 486; in Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 331 (*cuezalli*), "llama, color rojo vivo, pluma de ese color."

"And verily now he hath approached, he hath known his great-grandfathers, his progenitors, those who had already gone beyond to reside, those who had come to establish the realm—the lords, the rulers, the lord Acamapichtli, [and] Tīçoc, Auitzotl, Ueue Motecuçoma, Axayacatl, the one who hath here followed Motecuçoma Ilhuicamina.⁴

"And all these lords, these rulers, came to govern, came to marvel at, and came to glory in the realm, the rulership, the government. And they ordered, they arranged things well for thee, thou who art lord of the near, of the nigh, thou who art Moyo-coya, thou who art Moquequeloa.

"They departed leaving the large bundle, the large carrying frame, the great burden, the subjects— heavy, frightful, insupportable, intolerable. They departed placing it upon their shoulders, upon their backs; they departed leaving it to their offspring, to him who for yet a little while came to raise up their heads, who came glorifying them.

"Now he hath followed them; he hath come to know them—he whom thou hast hidden, he whom thou hast summoned hence. Thou hast already inclined thy heart; thou hast blessed him, for his heart, his body are relieved; for he hath gone, for he hath gone to settle in the place of no fleas; for already [thou hast] put him in repose.

"And it hath been forever; he hath gone forever; he hath left the earth completely. Hath he perhaps just gone somewhere to come back, to return, that once again the city may look upon his face? And will he still come to say: 'May this be so; may this so happen'? And will he yet again soon come to look upon the faces of the lords, the rulers? Will they perchance yet see him, yet know him? Will they perchance yet take, yet hold to his word? Will he perchance yet console them, greet them? It has been complete. He hath left completely. It is extinguished, it hath darkened; the torch is extinguished; the light, the splendor is destroyed; the city is eternally orphaned. And so in what manner will he assume the burden? Will he still concern himself, considering that the vassals will somehow perish and considering that they will somehow be destroyed?

"And the city, will it perhaps here in his absence be mocked? Will it divide? Will it scatter? Truly

auh ca nelle axcan, ca intech oonacic ca oqujmon-
ma in jachcocolvan, in jtechiuhcaoan in ie nachca
onmantivi, in oiecoco in petlapan, in jcpalpan in
tetcuti, in tlatoque: in tlatatl in Acamapichtli, in
Tīçocic, in Avitzotl, in veve motecuçoma, in Axa-
iaca: in njcan onjcatih in Motecuçoma in Ilujca-
mjna,

auh in ie ixqujchtin in tetcutin in tlatoque, in
otlatqujco, in otlamamaco in oqujmaviçoco: auh in
oqujtimaloco in petlatl, in jcpalli, in tecujotl, in
tlatocaiotl: auh in ovel mjtzontlatetequjlitiaque, in
ovel mjtzonmotlatlatlilitiaque in titloque, in tina-
oaque, in timoiocoia, in timoquequeloa:

auh in oconquetzteoaque in vei qujmjlli, in vei
cacaxtli, in vei tlamamalli, in tlatconj, in tlamama-
lonj in etic, in temamauhti in aixnamjqujliztli, in
aieoalitzli in jteputzco in jcujtlapan contlaliteoaque,
concauhteaque in jntzon, in jmjzti: in ocuel achic
qujmontzonteconacocujco, in oqujmonteiotico,

in axcan, oqujmontocac, in oqujmomma: in oto-
conmotlatili, in otiqualmotatzilili. Oieh tlaauhquj
in moiollotzin oticmocnelili, ca oceuh in ijollo in
jnaciao, ca oia, ca oommotecato in atecpitla ca ie
qujceujtoc:

auh ca ocnmaian catca, ca ocnmaian onqujz, ca
ocen onqujz in tlalticpac: mach çan cana viloaia,
oalilotiz, oalmocuepaz oc ceppa ixco, icpac tlachiaz
in atl, in tepetl: auh cujx oc conjtoqujuh in ma iuh
ie, y, in ma iuh muchioa, y: auh oc ceppa ma ia
imjxco imjcpac tlachiaqujuh in tetcutin in tlatoque,
cujx oc qujtazque, cujx oc qujximatizque, cujx oc
qujcujzque, canazque in jten, in jtlato: cujx oc
qujnciappovaz, cujx qujnciauhquetzaz: a ca ocn
oncatca, ca ocn onqujz, a ca oceuh, ca otlaoioac: ca
oceuh in ocutl, ca opoliuh in tlavilli in tlanextli: ca
ocenmaian icnopiltic in atl, in tepetl: anca quen
tlamamanjz, mach oc oalmotlamachitia, anca ça
quen poliviz: auh anca ça quen popololo in cujtlap-
illi, in atlapalli:

auh in atl, in tepetl, cujx yio njcan iteputzco ica
necaciaoaloz xixinjz, momoiaoz, in onelli mach

4. Thus the Nahuatl reads. Motecuçoma Ilhuicamina is an alternative name for Ueue Motecuçoma.

he came spreading his wings, his tail feathers over it; truly he spread himself over it. And doth thy city lie abandoned, lie darkened? For thou, O master, O our lord, makest it his place of desolation. And here, in truth, now, in what manner doth thy heart desire? Will the city lie abandoned, will it lie darkened? Wilt thou make it his place of desolation?

"O, the poor, the governed, who seek their mother, their father; who require their mother, their father; who desire to be governed. Truly poor are those who go in all the forests, in the grasslands; who follow the dry lands; who encounter, who search out the deserts; who seek, take, consume the plants, the wood, the sticks.⁵

"And here, in truth, poor is the poor eagle warrior, the poor ocelot warrior who desireth to die, who wisheth not to live, who thinketh of the desert, of the battlefield. To whom will he proclaim that among others merit hath been attained, when he hath been brought into one's lap, into one's bosom? Whom will he make his mother, whom his father? And who will weep for him? Who will sigh for him?⁶

"The poor one — he of filth, of vice: who will wash him, who will bathe him? Who will take, who will remove his stench, his rottenness? Who will remove it, put it aside?

"And they, the common folk who confront each other, who beat each other, who strike each other: who will quiet them? And he who goeth saddened: who will weep for him, who will dry his tears? Will he perchance correct things for himself? Will he bring about death for himself, he who is worthy of death, worthy of destruction, who in truth hath gone the way of evil? And who will establish the realm? Who will dispose things, who will order things? Who will establish, who will command the mother, the father, who will govern?

"And who will move, who will put life into the drum, the gourd rattle where war is recalled, where it is instigated, and where there is allotted the death of the unhappy, the discontented, the humble eagle warriors, the humble ocelot warriors who long for death? And who will gather the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors?

ipan qujçoçoaco in jahaz, in jcujtlapil, in onelli mach ipan mohonoltitivia: auh manoce cucl ma cactimanj, ma ioatimanj in matzin, in motepetzin, ca inencauhian ticmuchivilia tlatcatle totecoc. Aviz nelle axcan, quen qujnequj in moiollo: cujx cactimanjz, cujx ioatimanjz in atl, in tepetl, cujx inencauhian ticmuchiviliz:

a ieh motolinja in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: ca inan, ca ita qujtemoa, ca inan ita qujnequj, ca mopachollanj: a nelle motolinja in cenquavatl, in cençacatl mantiuh, in teutlalli qujtoca, in jxtlaoatl qujnamjquj, in qujmjxtemolia, in qujtemoa y qujcu, in qujtepoloa in qujlitl, in quavatl, in tlatcotl:

Aviz nelle motolinja in jcnouquauhtli, in jcnooce-lutl in mjqujznequj, in anemjznequj in onvetzi ijollo in jxtlaoacan, in teuapan: ac itech oalmotatztiliz in otehoan motlacnopilvili in texillan, in tetozacatlan maqujltitiaz, ac inan, ac yta qujoalchioaz: auh ac conchoqujliz, ac conelciciviliz:

motolinia in teuhio, in tlaçullo ac qujpapacaz, ac cahaltiz, ac qujcujliz, ac canjliz in jhaca, in jpalanca, ac qujquanjliz, ac chico tlanaoac qujviqjliz:

auh iechoatl in ixquatech mana, in motzotzona in movitequj in maceoalli, ac qujceviz: auh in jxaiotzin qujmatentivitiz, ac qujchoqujliz, ac qujxaiopâpachoz, cujx monomatlatlaliliz, cujx conmuchiviliz in mjqujztli in mjqujn in polivin, in onelli ovican ia: auh ac qujtêtecac in petlatl in jcpalli, ac tlatlatlaliliz, ac tlatecpanaz, ac qujtlatliz ac qujnaoatiz in nantli, in tatli, in petlatiz, in jcpaltiz:

auh ac colinjz ac qujiolitiz in vevetl, in aiacachtli, in vncan molnamjquj, in vncan moiocoia in teuatl, in tlachinolli: auh in vncan qujmocotonjlia in jmjqujz in aavia, in avellamati, in jcnouquauhtli, in jcnooce-lutl in mjqujznequj: auh ac qujnnechicoz in quauhtli, in ocelutl:

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "O pobrecitos de los mercaderes: que andan por los montes, y por los paramos, y çacatales: y tambien de los tristes labradores, que andan buscando herbezuclas, para comer, y rayzes, y leña para quemar, o para vender de que biuan."

6. The corresponding Spanish text varies somewhat from the Nahuatl: "quando tomaren algun captiuo, a qujen le presentaran: y si le capti-uaren, a qujen daran noticia de su captiuorio, para que se sepa en su tierra, que es captiuo: a qujen tomara por padre, y madre: para que en estos casos semejantes, le fauorezca: pues que ya es muerto el que hazia esto: que era como padre, y madre de todos: no aura ya qujen llöre, ni qujè respire, por los captiuos: porq̃ no aura qujen de noticia dellos a sus parientes."

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, incline thy heart; concede, reveal, designate which one will guard for thee, will govern, will fortify, will gladden the city; which one will place the city upon his thigh, will fondle it, will dandle it?"

"Concede, O master, O our lord, that N. live. Concede to him, designate him, that he may guard this. Give him as a loan for a little while thy reed mat, thy reed seat, and thy rule, thy realm. Show compassion for him; choose him. Take him from the excrement, from the filth, and glorify him, make him like a fierce animal.

"O master, O our lord, cause the sun to shine; let there be light. It is all with which I, a commoner, go astray, go amiss in thy presence. May what thy heart requireth be in the manner in which thou wilt desire it."

Tlacatle, totecoc, tloquee, naoaquee: manoço tla-
caoa in moiollotzin, ma xicmomacavili, ma xicmo-
nextili, ma xicmomachiotili in ac ichoatl, in mjtzon-
motlapialiliz in tlatqujz, in tlamamaz, in oneticiviz
in conaviltiz in atl, in tepetl, in jmetzpan contlatla-
litiez, in conaviltiz, in contlavivitequjliz in atl, in
tepetl:

manoço xicmomacavili, tlatcatle totecoc: ca onnemj
in. N. manoço ichoatl xicmomacavili, manoço ichoatl
xicmomachiotili, ma ichoatl compia, y, ma ichoatl
achitzinca xoconmotlaneuhtili in mopetlatzin, in
mocpaltzin: auh in motecuiotzin, in motlatocaio-
tzin, manoço ichoatl xicmocnoittili, xicmopepenjli:
ma xicmanjli in cujtlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan: auh ma
xicmotleiotili, ma xicmotequaiotili

tlatcatle, totecoc: ma tona, ma tlatvi xicmuchivili.
Ca ixqujch ic mjxpan njtlacoloa, ic mjxpan njtlavil-
tequj in njmaceoalli: manoço qujnequj in moiollo-
tzin, in quecin toconmonequjltiz.



Sixth Chapter. Here are related the words which, from their very hearts, they prayed to Tezcatlipoca, to request that the ruler who performed his office badly might die. He who thus appealed to the god was the principal priest, in order to invoke evil upon the ruler. The words were very good, and the metaphors were very good.

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind: thou seest, thou knowest the things within the trees, the rocks. And behold now, it is true that thou knowest of things within us; thou hearest us from within. Thou hearest, thou knowest that which is within us: what we say, what we think; our minds,¹ our hearts. It is as if smoke, mist arose before thee.²

"And behold, verily now, thou art seeing how N. liveth, how he doth. And thou considerest, thou knowest which of the things give him pride, perverseness, trouble, so that no more hath he regard for others, and no more is he anywhere compassionate. He becometh crazed. Thy property, thy possession, thy freshness, thy tenderness, thy sweetness, thy fragrance which for a short time, for a little while, he dreameth of — he seeth in dreams — the rulership, the government, the realm, thy honor, thy glory — these give him perverseness, pride, trouble, make him crazed, make him besotted, make him drunk.

"So he is evermore presumptuous, evermore impudent. And so no more is he compassionate. It is just as if spiny, thorny were his face, his heart, his life; his words nowhere conform to his life, to his deeds. And certainly he becometh brazen; he wisheth to belittle things. He seemeth to act in what manner he wisheth, to live in what manner he wisheth; to think in what manner he wisheth.

"It is certainly true, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O Teimatini, O Techichi-

Ic chiquacen capitulo, vncan moteneoa in tlatolli: in vel iniollocopa ic qujtlatlauhtiaia Tezcatlipuca, injc qujtlanjliaia in macuele mjquj in tlatoanj, in amo vel qujchioa in jtequjuh. Ichoatl ic tlateunonotzaia in vei tlenamacac catca, injc qujtlateunonochiliaia in tlatoanj: cenca qualli in tlatolli, ioan cenca qualli in metaphoras.

Tlacatle, totecoc, tloquee, naoaquee, ioalle, checatle: a ca quavitl, ca tetl itic, titlachia, titlamati: auh aviz nelle axcan, ca titic titlamati, titic titechcaquj, ticcaquj, ticmati in tlein titic tiqujtoa, in tiqujlnamjquj, in tix, in toiollo, iuhqujn poctli, aiavitl mjxpan-tzinco moquetza.

Aviz in nelle axcan, ca ticmotztiliticac yn juh ie nemj, in juhquj ie qujchioa in. N. auh ticmottilia, ticmotlamachililia in tlein, in catlehoatl in ie qujxacocuj, in ie qujtonja, in ie camana, injc aiocmo teixco, teicpac tlachia: auh in aiocmo can icnoio in jiollo, in ie mjxitl, in ie tlapatl mocuepa in maxcatzin, in mocococatzin, in motzmolinca, in mocelica in motzopelica in maviaca: in achica in cucl achic in qujtemjquj, in qujcochitleoa in tecujotl, in tlatocaiutl, in petlatl, in jcpalli, in momavizio, in motleio: ca ichoatl ie qujtonja, ca ichoatl ie qujxacocuj, ichoatl ie camana, mjxitl, tlapatl ie mocuepa, ie qujvintia, ie qujxocomjctia:

injc aoc tlatlamati, injc aoc teixco tlachia: auh injc aocmo icnoio in ijollo, in ça iuhquj haoaio, in ça iuhquj vitzio, in jx, in jiollo, in jnemjliz: in jtlato in aoccan tetlacama, in jnemjliz in jtlachioal: auh ca ça nelle ie aquetza, ca oc tle ipan tlachiaznequj, mach ie on ie quecin qujchioaznequj, mach ie on ie quecin nemjznequj, ie on ie quecin momatiznequj:

ca ça nel ie melaoac, tlacatle, totecoc, tloquee, naoaquee, tehimatinje, techichioanje, teicoioanje: ca

1. in tix: cf. Horacio Carochi: *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (Mexico: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1892), p. 456, ixtli... cura, y haz, y por metaphora la vista interior....

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "nuestras anjmas, en vuestra presencia, son como un poco de humo, y de njebla: que se leuanta de la tierra."

uani,³ O Teyocoyani: he hath become an ingrate; already he is proud. And he hath become drunk, he hath become besotted. For because of thy property, thy possessions, which thou hast let him smell, which thou hast caused to pass before his face, before his lips, reason hath been lost. And it is certainly noteworthy that he is no longer devout, no longer a weeper, no longer a sorrower, no longer a sigher, because he hath become drunk, hath become besotted, is a vagabond, is completely crazed; he no longer understandeth at all.

"And now on thy reed mat, on thy reed seat, he dishonoreth thee. There rest the blue water, the yellow water with which thou who art the lord of the near, of the nigh, dost wash people, dost bathe people. And behold, there the common folk go saddened; there he taketh — there is allotted — their destruction, their exaltation, and there he assumeth independence;⁴ he abuseth thy realm, thy place of honor.

"And behold, he abuseth the position of merchant-hood. There is the removing from thy lap, from thy bosom.⁵ They occupy all the forest, all the great grasslands; the poor eagle warriors, the poor ocelot warriors go weeping, go in sadness, seek thee, beg thee for thy freshness, thy tenderness, thy sweetness, thy fragrance — that which thou yieldest not, that which thou hast cherished.

"And here, verily, now, he abuseth the place of the drums, of the gourd rattles, where thou art consulted in sadness; where thy pain, thy spirit, thy word are requested of thee; where thou art called upon; where thou art prayed to. And there is determined the death of the unhappy, the discontented, those who go in torment, in pain of heart, of body.⁶ And here he abuseth, covereth with dust, covereth with filth, and disturbeth the place where thou art gladdened, where thou hast gathered people together, where thou dost indicate one, where thou dost record one, where thou dost enter one in the traditions, among the drums, among the gourd rattles.

"And now, as thou art present, as thou knowest⁷ what thou dost desire, even as thy heart requireth,

oicnopillavelilocat, ca ie cuecuenocivi: auh ca oivintic, ca oxocomjc, ca oic ontlapolo in maxcatzin, in mococatzin in otoconmjnecujltili, in oixtlan, in oitentlan toconmoq'xtilili. Auh ça nel cenca izca ca aocmo tlateumatinj, ca aocmo chocanj, ca aocmo tlaocoianj, ca aocmo elcicivinj: ca nel noço oivintic, oxocomjc ca ça nennemj, ca ovellapolo, ca aocmo ça njman qujmati.

Auh in axcan, mjtzmotlaavilqujxtililia in mope-tlapan, in mocpalpan: in vncan manj in matlatl, in toxpalatl injc timotepapaqujlia, injc timoteahaltia; in titloque tinaoque: aviz in vncan in jxaitzin qujmatentiu in maceoalli, in vncan qujcuj, in vncan cotonj in jpolivia, in jacoqujçaia: auh in vncan qujcuj in jaztauh in jmecaxicol, tlaavilqujxtia in mopetlapan, in mocpalpan, in momaviziocan:

auh iz tlaavilqujxtia in puchtecaiopan in vncan moxillan, motozcatlan mamaiaivi in cenquavil, in cençacatl manj in jcnouauhtli, in jcnocelutl in chocatinemj, in tlaocuxtinemj, in mjtzmotemolia, in mjtztlanjlia in motzmolinca, in mocelica, in maviaca, in motzopelica in aticacaoa in jpan timolpihtoc:

auh iz nelle axcan, tlaavilqujxtia in vevetitlan, in aiacachtitlan, in vncan titlaoculnonotzalo, in vncan titlanjlilo in mellel, in mjhijo, in motlatol, in vncan tintzalo, in vncan titlatlauhtilo: auh in vncan qujmocotonjlia in jmjqujz in aavia, in avellamati, in toneoatinemj, in chichinacatinemj in jiollo, in jnaçao: auh iz tlaavilqujxtia, tlateuhiotia, tlatlaçollotia: auh tlaitonja in vncan taujltilo, auh in vncan titenechicoa, in vncan titemachiotia, in vncā titeicujloa, in vncan titetlillotia, titetlapalotia in vevetitlan, in aiacachtitlan.

Auh in axcan, ca timeviltitica, ca ie teh ticmatcatzintli tlein toconmonequjltiz, quenjn connequjz in

3. Techichiiani: Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*criador ... de todos*"; hence, creator. See *chiua*, make or create, in the vocabularies. If the term should be derived from *chichiua*, array, the meaning would be: "he who arrays one."

4. in *jaztauh* in *jmecaxicol*: cf. Chap. 43 (*Naztauh, nomecaxicol*), and Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 45 (*axtatl — tlacotonililli jaztauh, ymecaxicol*).

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*que son a quien vos confiays, mas de vuestras riquezas...*"

6. *Ibid.*: "*y donde los tristes, y afligidos, y pobres se esfuerçan, y consuelan, y los que son cobardes se esfuerçan, para morir en la guerra...*"

7. *teh ticmatcatzintli*: read *teh[uatl] ticmomachiltia*.

thy will be done. And may it so happen. However, a little later, may there be fear, may it teach one, may it be seen from him how to live. May he deserve, may he merit some reprimand, whatsoever thou wilt give him — perhaps castigation, pestilence. Perhaps thou wilt cause thy honor, thy glory to pass before the face of someone of these thy friends, the weepers, the sorrowers, for they exist, they live. Thou dost not want for friends. In all the world thy friends, thy real friends, remain awaiting thee, remain calling out to thee. And thy humble friends remain sighing unto thee.

"Take one of these; choose one of these. Let one of these guard for thee. Seek one of these to replace another.

"Which one of these things wilt thou give? Perhaps also on the one hand thou wilt incline thy heart. Perhaps thou wilt take from him, thou wilt hide from him thy heat, thy warmth. Thou art the lord of the near, of the nigh; thou art Moyocoya, thou art Moquequelo. Perhaps thou wilt give it to the weeper, to the sorrower, who calleth well to thee, who prayeth well to thee, the yet free-born.⁸

"Perhaps, on the other hand, he will become rich, will become prosperous; by thy rewards he will have become arrogant, presumptuous; perhaps he will experience even as the common folk experience, those who suffer affliction, those whose sustenance appeareth not, and those who encounter not that which hangeth from their necks, from their hips.

"And perchance also thou wilt give him the great castigation — the paralysis, the blindness, the rottenness.

"And perhaps also he will soon depart from the earth. Perchance thou wilt hide him.⁹ Perchance he will know our collective home, the place without outlets, without openings. Perchance he will know our mother, our father Mictlan tecutli.

"Show him mercy. May then his heart, his body rest. May he know the land of the dead. May he know his great-grandfathers, his progenitors, who have gone to the land of the dead, who are gone to assemble [there].

"O master, O our lord, what doth thy heart desire? And even as will be thy desire, thy will be done.

moiollo, ma xicmonequilti: auh ma iuh muchioa, iece ça ixquitzin ma tlamauh, ma qujtemachti, ma itech itto, in juhquj ic nemj: manoço achitzin qujenopilvi, ma qujmomacevi in atl itztic, in atl cecec: catlehoatl in ticmamacaviliz, cujx ichoatl in quavtl, in tetl, in temuxtli in ehecatl: cujx oc ie ceme imjxtlan tiqujmonmoqujxtiliz in momavizio, in motleio, in mocnjoa in chocanj in tlaocoianj, ca onovac ca nemoa, camo timocnjuhtolinja, ca mjtzechixtoque, ca mjtztatzililoque in cemanaoac in mocnjoa, in vel mocnjoa: auh in mocnoicnjoa, movic elciciuhtoque:

ma oc ie ceme xiquinmanjli, ma oc ie ceme xiqujnmopepenjli, ma oc ie ceme mjtzonmotlapialilican, ma oc ie ceme inca xommotlatemoli.

Catl no cehoatl in ticmamacaviliz: cujx noço cuellchoatl, cujx tlacaoaz in moiollotzin, cujx toconmocujliz, cujx toconmotlatiliz in mototonca, in moiamanca: in titloque, tinaoque, in timoiocoia, in timoquequelo: cujx tocommomaqujiz in chocanj, in tlaicoianj, in vel mjtznotta, in vel mjtztlatlauhtia in oc itztica ijollo, in oc iolxoxouhqj:

cujx cuellchoatl mocujltonoz, motlamachtiz, in motlachichioaltzin in ocuecuenot, in oatlama: cujx conjttaz, in juhquj qujta maceoalli in cococ, in tepouhqj, in aalnecinj in jcochca, in jneuhca: auh in aommonamjqj in jquechtlan, in jquezpan pilcac.

Auh cujx noço njman ichoatl, ticmamacaviliz, in vei quavtl, in vei tetl, in cocototztli, in jxpopoiotl, in palanaliztli.

Auh cujx noce, ça ie cuel tlatlalcaviz in talticpac: cujx ticmotlatiliz, cujx ontlamatiz in tochenchan in apuchqujaoaiocan, in atlecallocan, cujx conmatiz in tonan, in tota in mjctlan tecutli:

manoço xicmocnelili, ma ie cuel cevi in jiollo, in jnacaio: ma ontlamati in mjctlan, ma qujmommati yn jachcôcolvan, in jtechiuhcaoan in oiaque mjctlan, in omotecato.

Tlacatle, totecoc: tlein connequjz moiollotzin, auh quecin toconmonenequjltiz, ma xicmonequilti:

8. in oc itztica ijollo, in oc iolxoxouhqj: see Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 174 (yollo) — "yollo itztic ou xoxouhqui, libre, né de parents libres. . ."

9. ticmotlatiliz: "thou wilt hide him"; that is, "thou wilt bring about his death." The corresponding Spanish text reads: "por uentura soys servido de sacarle deste mundo por muerte corporal. . ."

Perhaps it is not in joy over another's misfortune and not in mockery of another that I cast myself before thee; and so it is only the robbery of the city; but it is only the well-being of the earth. May I not arouse thee to thy fury, thy anger; may I not stir up thy wrath, thy anger. And may I, a common person, not raise up thy annoyance, for thou knowest, thou seest things within stones, within wood."

at amo teca papaqujiztli, auh at amo teca ahavia-
liztli injc mjpgantzinco njnotlaça, anca çan itlacu-
cujliloca in atl, in tepetl: auh ca çan ivelmanca in
tlalli, ma nelli motlaueltzin, moqualantzin njmiz-
neujlili, ma njcolinj in moçumaltzin, in moqualan-
tzin: auh ma melleltzin njcquetz in njmaceoalli:
ca tetl, ca quaviti itic, timotlamachitia, timotla-
chialtia.



Seventh Chapter. Here is related the confession which they said or performed when they still practised idolatry. They did so only once during all the time that they lived.

"O master,¹ O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, thou hast taken, thou hast heard the commoner thus troubled, who hath reported before thee, who hath placed before thee his stench, his rottenness. But perhaps he hath come ridiculing thee, or he hath come going amiss, going astray in thy presence. Perhaps he himself hath come to plunge himself into the torrent, from the crag, or hath come to cast himself there. And perhaps he hath come to place himself in the thongs, the snare. Perhaps he hath come to take the paralysis, the blindness, the rottenness, the tatters, the rags.²

"Perhaps certainly now, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, perhaps he hath come really to bind himself. Perhaps he hath retracted, swallowed, suppressed a word or two; for of his own will he acteth, he mocketh himself; for thou art near, O master, O our lord, O night, O wind. He hath just come, just come to stand, to speak, to pass; for there rest the blue water, the yellow water with which thou bathest, with which thou wastest the common folk.

"And perhaps he hath come to take his destruction, his exaltation.³ And perhaps he hath come to do himself good: perhaps he hath come to unclothe, come to strip himself [of his faults]; perhaps he hath come to show himself to thee in all parts. What is done is done; what is performed is performed, as if he had slipped, he had tripped; as if in thy presence he had gone astray, gone amiss; and as if truly he had dirtied himself, had hurled himself into the bottomless pit, into the water, into a cave. Verily, he

Ic chicome capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in neiolcujtiliztlatolli in qujtoaia, manoço in qujchioaia, in jquac oc tlateutoca: çan ceppa in juh qujchioaia ixqujch cavitl nenca.

Tlacatle, totecoc, tloquee, naoaque: ca oticmocujli ca oticmocaqujti, ca omjxpantzinco qujpouh, omjxpantzinco qujtlali in jiaca, in jpalanca in maceoalli, injc hacemelle: auh anoço omocatzinco ommavilitico, anoço mjxpantzinco otlaviltequjco, oontlaco-loco: aço inoma ixcoian conmoquequechilico in atoiatl, in tepexitl, aço oompa ommotlaçaco: auh aço oommaqujco in mecatl, in tzonvaztli, aço oconcujo in cocototztli, in jxpopoiotl, in palanaliztli, in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli:

aço onelle axcan, tlacatle totecoc, tloquee, naoaque, aço vel oommoholpico, aço cententli, aço cencamatl oqujlochi oqujtolo, oqujcamapacho, ca ixcoian mjhienco, mocaiauh: ca ticmotztiliticac tlacatle, totecoc, ioaalle, ehecate: câ çan in oonvitza, câ çan in oommoquetzaco, in oontlatoco, in oonqujçaco: ca vncan manj in matlatl, in toxpalatl ynjc ticmahaltia, injc ticmopapaqujlia in maceoalli:

auh aço oconcujo in jpolivia, in jacoqujçaia: auh anoce oommocnelico, aço oommototomaco, oommo-pêpetlaoaco, aço onovian mjtzonmohottititzinoco: ca ie oax, ca ie oqujchiuh, in oax, in oqujchiuh: injc omallauh, injc omotepotlamj, injc omjxpantzinco tlacolo, tlaviltec: auh injc onelle motlahelnelo, injc omotlaz in anetlaxoian, in atlan, in oztoc: ca tel nel maçeoalli, ca itech ca ca qujtqujtinemj in camana, in qujtonja: auh in qujtequjpachoa in jomio, in jnacaio, in jx in jiollo: auh ca qujqua, ca quj in qujçoneoa in

1. The Spanish text begins: "Despues que el penjente auja dicho sus pecados, delante del satrapa: luego el mjimo satrapa hazia la oracion que se sigue, delante de Tenzatlipuca."

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "y con desacato, y grande ofensa de vuestra magestad se a arrojado en vna sima, y en vna profunda barranca, y el mjimo se a enlazado, y enredado, el mismo a merecido ser ciego, y tullido, y que se le pudran sus mjembros, y que sea pobre, y mjiero."

3. Ibid.: "y si por uentura a encurredido en su perdicion, y en el abreuamiento de sus dias: o si por uentura a dicho toda verdad, y se a librado, y desatado de sus culpas, y pecados. . ."

is a common person; on him is—he goeth carrying with him—that which troubleth him, perverteth him, and that which afflicteth his bones, his body, his mind, his heart; and it eateth, it drinketh, it disturbeth his heart, his body. And it becometh his stick, his stone; his sighing, his fright; his wonderment. It becometh his resolution to improve his way of life.

“And thou art here. It is not the work of man. Although he hath done it, although he hath performed it, it hath been ordained.”⁴

“And now, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, as the commoner hath troubled thee, as he hath offended thee, will perhaps thy fury, thy anger, be placated, be turned? May [the pardon] of the common person be complete, be achieved? Because he taketh fright, he sigheth when he turneth to himself, when he reflecteth upon, when he remembereth what he hath done, what he hath performed. He weepeth, he sorroweth, he eateth out his heart when he acknowledgeth how he hath offended thee, how he hath wronged thee. He taketh fright, he is terrified.

“May thy fury, thy anger yet be placated; may it yet be averted, O master, O our lord. Now, here, bathe him, wash him. May he descend; put him in the blue water, in the yellow water, in the sea, in the deep waters where thou wastest one, where thou bathest one.

“And may he go. May he weep. May he be sad. May he do penance. May thy words come forth. Command of him that which thy heart will require, that which he will do, that which he will perform on earth, how he will live. And advise him how he will live.”

The soothsayer, the confessor, addressed the one who confessed; he said to him: “Here thou dost hide, thou hast come to place thyself, thou hast come to pass the uninhabitable place, the place of fright, where stand the torrent, the crag. The cliff, the gorge, the crag stand sheer, stand ashen, stand red-dened: the place where there can be no standing, no place of exit. And there are placed one above another, joined one to another, the cord, the snare, the trap.”⁵

jiollo, in jnacaio: auh ca iquauh, ca iteuh ca itzicuj-nol, ca inecujtuechiliz, ca ineiçavil muchioa, ca ineix-naoatiliz ca inenônotzaliz muchioa:

auh ca timeviltitica, ca amo motlacaicocux in maço-oax, in maço oqujchiuh: ca oitalviloc.

Auh in axcan tlatle, totecoc, tloquec, naoaquec: manoço omjtzmoteupovili, manoço omjxtzinco, moc-pactzinco nen in maceoalli: cujx ilotiz, cujx cuepiz in motlaveltzin, in moqualantzin: manoçoc centetl, manoçoc itlaiecul in maceoalli, motolinja: ha ca tel nelleh mocujtivetzi, ca tzcunoa in ommocuepa, in commati, in conjlnamjquj in tlein oax, in tlein oquj-chiuh: ha ca choca, ca tlaocua, ca ijollo conqua in conmati, injc omjtzmoiolitlacalvi, injc omjxtzinco, mocpactzinco nen, ca mocujtuetzi, ca mjçavia:

manoço oc iloti in motlaveltzin, in moqualantzin: manoçoc chico iauh tlatle totecoc: ma axcan, ma njcan xicmahaltli, xicmopâpaqujli: ma ontemo, ma xocommaqujli in matlalapan, in toxpalapan, in jlvi-caapan, in axoxovilco, in vncan timotepapaqujlia, in vncan timoteahaltilia;

auh ma iauh, ma choca, ma tlavcuia, ma tlamaccoa: ma qujça in motentzin, in motlatoltzin, ma xicmo-naoatili in tlein qujnequjz moiollotzin, in tlein onaiz, in tlein conchioaz in talticpac, in quenjn onnemjz: auh ma xicmjmachili in quenjn onnemjz

Qujnotza in tlapouhquj, in teiölmelauhqj: in omoiölmelauh, qujlhuia Ha ca njcan, tioallatia, timoquetzaco tiqujçaco, in anemjuhcan, in tema-mauhtican: in vncan ijçac in atoiatl, in tepexitl in viviteticac in nenexcoaticac, in chichichileoaticac in texcalli, in atlauhtli, in tepexitl in anequetzaloia, in aqujxoia: auh in vncan in nepanjuhtoc, in moqua-toc in mecatl in tzonvaztli, in tlapapochtli:

4. Ibid.: “En presencia de vuestra magestad hablo, que sabe todas las cosas: y sabeyz que este pobre, no peca con libertad entera del libre aluedrio, porque fue ayudado, y inclinado de la condicion natural del signo en que nacio.”

5. Ibid.: “as venjdo asimismo al lugar, donde los lazos, y redes estan asidos los vnos, con los otros, y sobrepuestos los vnos a los otros: de manera que nadie puede pasar, sin caer en alguno dellos: y no solamente lazos y redes: pero hoyos, como poços.” Cf. also Chap. 43, (Tas-vastli, tlapapuchili nenevixtoc in jxpan petlatl, icpalli).

"And thou hast descended, thou hast cast thyself into the water, into the cave, from the crag. Thou hast put thyself in the cords, into the snare, which let one not escape. [Thy faults] are deadly, are destroying, are savage.⁶ Perhaps thou hast retracted or thou hast suppressed, thou hast swallowed thy stench, thy rottenness, thy blackness, thy filth; ugly, stinking, rotten, it is diffused, it is known, it goeth into the land of the dead, into the heavens. Thy stench, thy rottenness are reaching the entire world.

"And now, here, thou hast given thyself, thou hast consulted with the master, our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, who can especially be offended, who is especially wrathful, who is angered; who tomorrow, the next day will hide thee, will place thee underfoot, will send thee to our common home, the land of the dead. There thy mother, thy father, Mictlan tecutli, remaineth panting, remaineth coveting, remaineth thirsting for thee, remaineth hungering for thee.⁷

"And to thee he will give, on thee he will place thy desert, thy merit, which thou hast brought down, which thou hast required of our lord: blindness, paralysis, tatters, rags, the miserable cape.

"And thou shalt suffer, thou shalt endure misery; thou shalt be poor on earth. Thy heart, thy body will suffer torment, pain. Torment, pain, fatigue will reach to thy nose. And as to this: thou art here, thou hast been good to thyself, for thou hast consulted the one who knoweth, who seeth things [within] wood, within stones. And he knoweth, he seeth things within thee; he heareth what thou sayest within thyself.

"And as to this: what hast thou done, what hast thou performed? For of thy own volition thou hast put thyself in the cords, into the snare; for thou hast cast thyself into the water, into the cave, from the crag.

"Thou wert good, thou wert fine when thou wert sent here, when thy mother, thy father, Quetzalcoatl, made thee, created thee. Thou wert cast, thou wert perforated [as] a precious green stone, a bracelet, a precious turquoise. Thou hast sprouted, blos-

auh ca otontemoc, ca otonmotlaz in atlan in oztoc, in tepexic, ca otonmaqj in mecatl, in tzonvaztli in ateqjxtia, in mjcoanj in polioanj in tequanj: aço ocententli tiqjlochi, aço cencamatl ticcamapacho, otictolo in mjiaca, in mopalanca in motliltica, in in mocatzaoaca, in temamauhti yn jiac, in palanquj: in òmolonj, in ommachizti, in onjaia in mjctlan, in jlviac: in cemanaoac aciticac in mjiaca, in mopalanca.

Auh in axcan ca njcan oticmomaqujli, oticmonochili in tlacatl, in totecuj, in tloque naoaque, in machê ioliltacolonj, in mache çomale, qualane, in çan muztla viptla mjtzonmotlatiliz, in mjtzonmoc-xipachilviz, in mjtzonmjoaliz in tochenchan in mjctlan, in vmpa oalneneciuhtoc, in vmpa oalamatatacatoc in monan, in mota mjctlan tecutli, in mjtzalamjctoc, in mjtzalteuciuhtoc:

auh mjtzonmomaqujliz, motech contlaliz in iehoatl in molvil, in momaceoal in otictemoli totecuj, in otiqujtlanjli in jxpopoiotl, in cocototztli, in tzotzomatli in tatapatli, in ajaçulli:

auh in jcnioitl, ticciaviz, tiqjhijoviz, vmpa onqujçaz in tlaticpac: toneoaz, chichinacaz in moiollo, in monacao, moiacacpa qujqujztiaz in toneviztli, chichinaqujztli, in tlaihiyoviliztli. Auh injn ca iz tonca, otimocneli: ca oticmononochili in quavvitl, in tetl itic tlamati, tlachia: auh in titic tlamati, tlachia in qujmati, in qujcaquj in titic tiqjtoa:

Auh injn tle otax, tlein oticchiuh: ca monoma otommaquj in mecatl, in tzonvaztli, ca otimotlaz in atlan, in oztoc, in tepexic:

Ca tiqualli, ca tiiectli in tioaliualoc, in mjtzchiuh in mjtziocux in monan, in mota in quetzalcovatl: ca tichalchivitl, ca timaqujztli, ca titeuxivitl, in tipitzaloc, in timamalioac: ca tichalchivitl, ca titeuxivitl tixotlac, ticuepon, in tiol in titlacat:

6. Ibid.: "estos sò tus pecados, que no solamēte son lazos, y redes, y poços en que as caydo: pero tambien son bestias fieras, que matan, y despedaçañ el cuerpo, y el anjma."

7. Ibid.: "adonde esta tu padre, y tu madre el dios del infierno, y la diosa del infierno, abiertas las bocas, con desseo de tragarte a ti, y a quantos ay en el mundo..."

somed, come to life, been born [as] a precious green stone, a precious turquoise.⁸

"But just of thy own volition thou defilest thyself, dishonorest thyself, dirtiest thyself; thou livest, thou castest thyself into excrement, into filth, into that which thou dost, into that which thou performest. That in which thou dost roll, in which thou dost play — the bad, the evil, the filth — hath dishonored one, dirtied one. Of thy own volition thou hast wallowed in filth, in refuse. Even as if thou wert a baby, a child, who playeth with the dung, the excrement, so hast thou bathed thyself, rolled thyself [in filth].

"And as to this: now thou hast given it, thou hast manifested it to the lord of the near, of the nigh. Thou hast consulted, thou hast revealed it to the bather of people, the washer of people. Perhaps it is not in jest, perhaps this is no little thing, for thou hast descended where the blue waters, the yellow waters, the deep green waters rest, where the lord of the near, of the nigh, washeth one, batheth one.⁹

"Thou hast just come; thou hast just come to emerge, thou hast come to appear; for thou hast descended into, thou hast beheld the land of the dead, the heavens. Now our lord hath caused the sun to shine, hath caused the dawn to break. Now thou causest the sun to appear, to come forth.¹⁰ Now once again thou art rejuvenated, thou emergest as a child. Once again thou becomest as a baby. Thou becomest, thou art hatched a young parrot, a precious green stone, a precious turquoise. Once again, newly, thou dost sprout, thou art hatched, thou art born on earth.

"And go in peace and quiet; go softly. Yet try thy feet out. For a few days thou wilt vex our lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind. Behave yet humbly, sadly, modestly. Live in this way; live so doing. And give thyself exclusively to thy weeping, thy sorrowing; go calling to our lord in sadness.

"Do not presume. Our lord of the near, of the nigh, heareth thee, knoweth of things within thee, heareth within thee when thou hast offended him.

auh ca ça mǝxcoian in timotlahelneloa in timǝçoloa, in timocatzaoa, in cujtlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan timonemjtia, in timotlaça: in tlein tonai, in tlein toconchioa: in tlein timonelo, in ticmaviltia in aqualli, in aiectli in tlahelli in teiçolo, in tecatzauh: ca mǝxcoian in teuhlica, in tlaçultica timǝlacatzaoa: in ma iuhquj tipiltontli, ticonetontli in xixtli, cujtlatl, ticmaviltia: injc timaltia timonelo.

Auh injn, in axcan: ca oticmomaqujli, ca oticmotitili in tloque naoaque: ca oticmononochili oticmotlaixpantilili in teahaltianj, in tepapacanj: hacaçomo çan avilli, hacaçomo çan itla, yn, ca otontemoc in vncan manj in matlatl, in toxpalatl, in xopaleoac atl, in vncan moteahaltia, in vncan motepapaqujlia, in tloque, naoaque:

ca çan in otovitza, ca çan in otomqujçaco in otimotoquetzaco ca mǝjctlan, ca yluçac in otontemoc, in otontlachix: ca axcan tona, tlahuj qujmuchivilia in totecuj, axcan tiqualmana, tiqualqujxtia in tonatiuh, axcan oc ceppa tipilqujça, ticonequjça: oc ceppa iuhqujn tipiltzintli timuchioa in titoztli, tichalchivitl, titeuxivitl timuchioa, ticueponj: oc ceppa iancuican tixotla, titlapanj, titlacati in tlalticpac.

Auh manoço ivian, manoço iocuxca, manoço xom-mjmattiuh, ma oc xommocxiiehecotiah yn oc quequjlvitzintli toconmotlaamanjliliz totecuj, in tloque naoaque, in ioalli ehecatl, ma oc motolol, ma oc momalcoch, ma oc mopilol xoconchioa, ic xonnemj, xoconchiuhtinemj: auh ma oc mochoqujz, ma oc motlaocul xoconjxcavi, ma oc xoconmotlaoculnonochilitinemj in totecuj:

maca tle mǝjtic xiqujto, mǝjtzaquj mǝjtic tlamati, mǝjtic tlaçaquj in tloque naoaque: in otoconmellelaxitili, tleh mopan ianj, tleh motlaanca, tleh monel-

8. Ibid.: "te formo como una piedra preciosa, y como una cuenta de oro de mucho precio, y quando naciste eras como una piedra preciosa, y como una ioya de oro muy resplandeciente, y muy polida."

9. Ibid.: "porque de verdad as entrado en la fuente de la misericordia, que es como una agua clarissima, con que lava las suziedades del alma, nuestro señor dios amparador, y favorecedor de todos, los que a el se conuerten."

10. Ibid.: "agora nuevamente comienças a biuir, agora nuevamente te da lãbre, y nuevo sol nuestro señor dios. . ."

What is happening to thee? What are thy beginnings? What are thy roots? [Our lord] will wish for thee that which his heart will determine.

"Will he, perchance, here in the world, show thee the invisible, the frightening, the painful, the torment, the affliction?¹¹ And perhaps he will hide thee, put thee underfoot, send thee to our common home, the land of the dead. Where thou awaitest the word of the lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind, himself, the earth will crumble, the place will be made excrement. And he will determine in the manner he will desire; he will ruin, burn, break up, scatter the earthen structure, the reed enclosure, the mound of earth which in vain thou hast put together.

"And as to this: be yet careful; stand forth; pay attention. Be not as thou art. May thy heart be otherwise. May thy manner of life be otherwise. Take utmost care. May thou not falter again in something. Be ever cautious. And canst thou, perhaps, as a human being, behold the lord of the near, of the nigh, the youth, Moyocoya, Titlacauan, Tezcatlipoca?¹² For he is the night; he is the wind.

"Sweep; clean; arrange, order things. [Otherwise] thou wilt reject, offend the master, the youth, who goeth appearing among us; who liveth everywhere, who findeth his amusement, and worketh, and goeth seeking his friend.

"And as to this: do thou go, especially to the sweeping. Take care of the cleaning. And now thou art to clean things; thou art to clean thyself, thou art to bathe slaves; thou art to dance, thou art to sing. And behold, thou art to castigate thyself; thou art to fast, thou art to fast for a year. And thou art to draw blood.

"And because thou hast found pleasure in filth, in vice, thou art twice [daily] to pass twigs, once through thy ear [lobe], once through thy tongue, especially because of adultery, and because at some time thou hast hurt, thou hast harmed, thy neighbor with thy words.

"And because at some time thou hast depreciated the things of our lord, hast failed to provide food, thou wilt provide, wilt offer as thy duty, the paper, the incense.

vaio: ca mopan qujoalmonequiltiz in tlein ichoatzin ijollo tlamatiz,

cujx nican tlalticpac mjtzmottitiliz in aittonj, in temamauhti, in tecoco, in tonevitzli, in chichinaqujztli: auh noce mjtzonmotlatiliz, mjtzmocxipachilviz, mjtzonmjvaliz in tochenchan in mjetlan: tlalli tetepeuhchiez, vncan nexixaloz in vncan ticmotlatolchia, in ichoatzin tloque naoaque, in ioalli, checatl, inomatzi: auh qujoalmonequiltiz, in quecin qujoalmonequiltiz, commopolviz, commotlatiliz, commoxixiniliz, conmomomoiaiviliz in tlalcoalli, in acatzaqualli, in tlachcujtetelli in onen ticcaçalo.

Auh ynjn, tla oc moiolic tla oc ximoquetza, tla oc xitlachia: tlacamo çan tiuhquj, in tiuhquj: tla oc centetl in moiollo, tla oc centetl in monemjiz, cenca tleh ticma: ma ie no cuel itla ic tommotecujnj, oc nen xommjmattinemj. Auh cujx tictlacaitta in tloque naoaque: in telpuchtli, in moiocoia, in titlacava in tezcaltipuca: ca ioalli, ca checatl:

xochpana, xitlacujcuj, chico, tlanavac xitlavica, xitlateca: tictlaçaz, tictecujnjz in tlatatl, in telpuchtli: ca topan moqujxtinemj, ca novian monemjtia, ca ielctzin quijqujça: auh ca motequjtilia: auh ca qujtemotinemj in jcnjuh.

Auh ynjn, tla xijauh: cenca ich in ochpanalli, ipan xitlato, in tlacujcujlitzli: auh in axcan titlapopoaz, timopopoaz, titealtiz, titlatotiz, ticujcujcaz. Auh izcatquj in motech pachiviz, in atl cecec, in tzitzicatzli: timoçavaz, timocexiuhçavaz: auh timjçoz:

auh in jpampa in teuhthli, tlaçulli oticmavilti: titlacoqujxtiz oppa, ceppa monacazco, ceppa monenepilco: oc cenca ipampa in tetlaxincaiotl, ioan ica ipampa in motentica, in motlatoltica, ica otimocapanj, oica timoquavitec in mocotonca, moviltecca:

auh in jca in jpampa in otictlanempolvi totecuj, in otictlanenquali: ich in amatl in copalli in motequjuh in ticchioaz, in ticmanaz.

11. Ibid.: "por uentura enseñarte [sic] a aquellas cosas con que atormenta, y con que aflige: para que las veas con tus oios en este mundo? no por cierto: porque los tormentos, y trabaxos espantables, con que atormenta en el otro mudo, no son visibiles, no las puedā [sic] ver los que buien en este mundo..."

12. Ibid.: "y es mancebo de perfecta perfeccion, y sin tacha..."

"And see to him who thirsteth, who hungereth; who goeth moistening his lips, chewing his fingernails; who goeth skin and bone, who goeth like a skeleton. Take from thy mouth the morsel; share it; offer it.

"And clothe him who goeth naked, who acquireth not that which to hang from his neck, from his loins. For thy body is also as his, especially the sick one, for he is the image of the lord of the near, of the nigh.

"Be careful; be yet careful. Pay close attention. May the lord of the near, of the nigh, recreate thee. This is all; take thyself hence."

It is said that all worshipped Tlaçolteotl as a goddess — all who called themselves Mexicans; especially the Mixteca, the Olmeca guarded her as their true goddess. For it is said of them, the Mixteca, when yet in the time of their idolatry, that when one of them was to die, he summoned the soothsayer, the advised one. Before him he told, before him he placed all that which he had done, all that which he had performed — his faults, his [pretended] good to others, his harming of others. Perhaps he had stolen, perhaps he had taken something from someone. He told all, concealed nothing, hid nothing. And the soothsayer or the physician commanded the sick one to make restitution to one, to return to one his property, his goods.

And as for the Huasteca, it is said that they specifically worshipped [the] Tlaçolteotl goddesses.¹³ However, they did no penance before them, nor did they confess, because they did not consider lust as a wrong.¹⁴

[As for] the people of Michoacan, who, placed last, dwelt to the west, the old men knew not whether Tlaçolteotl was worshipped.

And neither did the Chichimeca worship [Tlaçolteotl], because only one was their god, whose name was Mixcoatl. They guarded his image. But the god whose image they guarded not — they only guarded their anticipation of him — his names were Yoalli, Ehecatl, Tloque nuaque, Opoche, Itzcaque, Ipalnemoani, Moyocoya, Moquequelo.

Auh xoconjtta in mamjqujtia, in moteucivitia in jtentzin qujpalotinemj, injztitzī qujtoponjtinemj, in omjçauhtinemj, in cicujliuhtinemj: oc mocamacpa xicana in tlapancatzintli, xictlapanj xictlamaca:

auh in petlauhtinemj in aommaci in jquechtlan, in jquezpan pilcac, xictlaquēti: ca monacaio ca no te, in ie: oc cenca iehoatl in cocoxcatzintli, ca ixiptla in tloque naoaque.

O ma çan moiolic, auh ma oc moiolic: tleh ticmati, ma mjtziocoli in totecujō in tloque, in naoaque: ca ie ixqujch ma ximovicatiuh.

In tlaçulteutl, qujl muchintin qujmoteutiaia, in jxqujchtin momexicaioa: oc cenca: iehoan in mjxteca, in olmeca: vel inteuh, iehoan qujpiaia. Ca qujl in iehoantin mjxteca: yn oc ipan in tlateutoqujliz, in jquac ie ceme mjqujznequj: qujnotza in tlapouhquj in nonotzquj, ixpan muchi qujtoa, muchi ixpan qujtlalia, in tlein oax, in tlein oqujchiuh in jtlapilchi-oal, in jnequal, in jnequavitec: in at ichtec, in at itla qujtecuji, muchi qujtoa: atle qujtlatia, atle qujnaia. Auh in tlapouhquj, in manoço ticitl: qujnaoatia in cocuxquj in tetlaxtlaviliz, in qujtecuepiliz in teaxca in tetlatquj.

Auh in cuexteca; qujl cenca vel qujnmoteutiaia in tlaçulteteu: çan amo imjxpan tlamaceoia, amo no moiolcujtiaia: ipampa amo qujtlatlaculmatia in avilnemjlijzotl.

In mjchhoaue, in jcece iaticac tonatiuh icalaqujampa onoque: amo vel qujmati in vevetque, in aço qujmoteutiaia in tlaçulteutl.

Auh in chichimeca, amo no qujmoteutiaia: ipampa ca çan ce in jntecouh catca, itoca Mixcoatl, in qujpialiaia ixiptla: auh in amo qujpialiaia ixiptla in teutl, in çan jio ichial qujpialiaia itoca Iooalli ehecatl, tloque naoaque, opoche, itzcaque, ipalnemoanj, moiocoia, moquequelo.

13. The plural is used because the goddess Tlaçolteotl was also named Ixcuina and Tlaçquani. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I, "The Gods," Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1950), p. 8.

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "porque la luxuria, no la tenjan por pecado."



Eighth Chapter.¹ Here are told the words which they uttered from their very hearts when they prayed to Tlaloc, to whom they attributed the rain. They said that he governed Tlalocan, which they considered as an earthly paradise. Still other gods lived there, called Tlaloque, and one who was their older sister called Chicome coatl. She was like Ceres. And the priests thus prayed when it was a time of heat, to ask for rain. Highly admirable are the discourses; there, many of the follies of ancient times are apparent.

"O master, O our lord, O Tlamacazqui,² O Xoxouhqui, O lord of Tlalocan, O lord of incense, O lord of copal: verily, now, the gods, the Tlamacazque, the lords of rubber, the lords of incense, the lords of copal—our lords—have taken refuge;³ they have hidden for themselves [that which is as] the precious green stone, the bracelet, the precious turquoise; they have taken with them their older sister Chicome coatl, the sustenance, and the red woman, the chili.

"And here, verily, now already the sustenance lieth suffering, the older sister of the gods lieth outstretched. The sustenance already lieth covered with dust, already it lieth enclosed in a spider web, already it endureth fatigue, already it suffereth.

"And the common folk, the vassals, here already perish; the eyelids are swollen; they become dry-mouthed; they become bony, become twisted, become [as if] scraped [thin]. Thin are the lips, blanched are the throats of the vassals. Of pallid eyelids are those who are given sustenance—the babies, the children, those who totter, those who crawl, those who spend their time piling up earth [and] pot-

Ie chicuei capitulo, vncan mjtóa in tlatolli: in vel injollocopa qujtóaia in jquac qujtlatlauhtiaia in tlatloc: in jtech qujtlamjaia qujavítl: iuh qujtóaia ca ichoatl vmpa tlatocatia in tlatlocan in juhq'ma parayso terrenal ipan qujmatia: in vmpa nenca in oc cequjn teteu, in jntoca tlatloque, ioan ce inveltiuh itoca chicome coatl yn juhqujma ceres catca. Auh ichoantin ie tlatlatlauhtiaia in tlenamacaque in jquac tonalmanja injc qujiauhtlatlanja: cenca maviçauh quj in tlatolli, mjec in vncan neztoc in ie vecauh netlapolotiliztli catca.

tlatcatle totecoc: tlamacazque, xoxouhque, tlatlocatecutle yiauhioe, copalloe a ca nelle axcan ca omotoptenque, ca omopetlacaltenque in teteu in tlamacazque in olloque, in iauhioque, in copalloe in totecujóan: a ca ocommotlatilique in chalchivítl in maqujztli, in teuxivítl: a ca oconmoviqujlitiaque in jneltioatzin yn chicome covatl in tonacaiutl: auh in tlatlauhqj civatl in chiltzintli.

Auh iz nelle axcan ca ie tlajhijovitoc in tonacaiutl, ca ie ma vilantoc in teteu inveltiuh: in tonacaiutl ca ie teuhpachiuhtoc, ca ie tocatzaoalqujmjlíuhtoc ca ie tlaihiiovia, ca ie tlaciavi.

Auh iz in maceoalli in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: ca ie ixpolivi ca tlaixquatolpôpoçaoa, tlatençaquava, tlaomjçavi, tlacoloivi, tlachichiqujlivi: ça tlatenpitzaoa, tlaquechticeoa in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli ixquatolçaçamactzin monemjtia in piltzintli, in conetzintli, in moquequetza, in movilana: in tlalli, in tapalcatl cololoa, in tlalli ixco ca: auh in quavic onoc, in vapaltentoc: ca ie muchi tlatcatl commati in tone-

1. A translation by Thelma D. Sullivan may be read in *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*, V (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965), pp. 39-55.

2. Tlamacazqui: "Lit., el que dará algo. De donde dos sentidos: a) El que dará lo necesario para la vida; o sea, el Proveedor divino. En este primer sentido se aplica a los dioses, en especial a los de la lluvia. b) El que dará algo para el servicio de los dioses, y en este sentido se aplica a los ministros secundarios del culto de los antiguos mexicanos." Garibay, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 408; see also *Veinte himnos*, p. 105.

3. ca omotoptenque, ca omopetlacaltenque: cf. *supra*, Chap. 5, n. 1. The phrase in the corresponding Spanish text—"anse recogido, y escondido en su recogimiento"—is typical of Sahagún's rendition of the Nahuatl every time the phrase occurs. We have generally adapted our translation to the idea of "taking refuge," or "being placed in retreat," or the like.

sheds, those on the ground, and those who lie on the board, those who lie on the plank. Already all people experience torment, affliction: already all people witness suffering.

"And there are none at all who are passed over; already all the little creatures suffer. The troupial, the roseate spoonbill just drag [their wings]; they are up-ended, tumbled headfirst; they open and close their bills [from thirst]. And the animals, the four-footed ones of the lord of the near, of the nigh, just go here and there; they can scarcely rise; to no purpose is the ground licked; and they go crazed for water. Already there is death, already all have perished, all are lost. The common folk and the animals already perish.

"And here our mother, our father, Tlaltecuctli, is already dried up; no more can he nourish, no more can he provide food; there is nothing more with which to suckle that which germinateth, that which lieth germinating, that which existeth as nourishment of the common folk.

"And the nourishment: there is no more of it; it is gone, it hath disappeared. The gods, the Tlamacazque, carried it away, introduced it there into Tlalocan. They have gone placing in retreat their freshness, their tenderness, the *ayauhtonan*,⁴ the *tzitziquilitl*,⁵ the *itzmiquilitl*,⁶ the *tepicquilitl*⁷ herbs, all the tender, the fresh [ones]. That which fresheneth, that which is tender, that which sprouteth, that which blossometh; the plants—those which come from thee; thy flesh, thy freshness, thy tenderness, [like] the precious green stone, the bracelet, the precious turquoise, the precious thing; only the precious thing, the nourishment whereby the world remaineth alive, especially liveth, talketh, rejoiceth, laugheth: the sustenance, the plants have gone, are hidden.

"And now, O master, O our lord, O lord of Tlalocan, O Tlamacazqui, in what manner doth thy heart desire? Hast thou perhaps conceded it? Perhaps it is thus? Perhaps it is all? Perhaps there is no more? Perhaps the vassals, the common folk, will just go, will just perish? Perhaps the city will lie abandoned, will lie darkened? Perhaps it is all?

viztli, in chichinaquijztli, ca ie muchi tlacatl conjita in tecoco.

Auh ça çan njman aocac oncauhtica, ca ie ixquje tlaihiiovia in ioiolitzin in çaquan, in quechol: ca ça tlamavilanj, ça netzitzineoalo, ça netzonjcquetzalo, tlacacamachalivi. Auh in iolquj in jxochcohoiooan tloque naoaque, ça tlaiaiauh, ça netotopanealo, ça nen in tlaixpapalolo tlalli: auh ie tla acuecuenocivi, atica in ie mjcoa, in ie polioa, in ie tlaixpolivi: in ie polivi in maceoalli, auh in iolquj.

Auh iz in iehoatl in tonan, in tota in tlaltecutli ca ie elvaquj: aocmo vel qujoapaoa, aocmo vel quj-tlaqualtia, aocmo tle in qujchichitiz in jxoan, in jxhoatoc: injc onoc in jnenca in jiuca in maceoalli.

Auh ie iehoatl in iolcaiuatl, aoc tle oia, opoliuh: oqujtquique, oqujcalaquique in teteu in tlamacazque in vmpa tlallocan: oconmotoptemjlitto, oconmope-tlalcalttemjlitto in jmjtmolinca, in jncelica: in aiauh-tonan, in tzitziquijlitl, in jtzmjquijlitl, in tepicquijlitl, in jxqujch in celic, in jtzmolinquj, in jtzmolinjn, in celianj, in xotlanj, in cueponjn in xiuhtzintli in motechcopatzinco vitz in monacaiotzin, in motzmo-linca in mocelica, in chalchiuhtli, in maquijztli, in teuxivitl, in tlaçotli: in ça ie ijo tlaçotli in jnenca in jmanca, in jiolca in cemanaoatl injc ioltimanj, in mache ioli, in tlatoa in paquj, in vetzca in tonacaiutl in xiuhtzintli ca oia, ca omotlati.

Auh in axcan tlacatl, totecoc: tlalocatecutle tlamacazque, quen qujnequj in moiollotzin: cujx otic-momacavili, cujx ie iuhquj, cujx ie ixqujch: cujx ça aocmo, cujx ça iaz, cujx ça poliviz in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in maceoalli: cujx cauhtimanjz, cujx iova-timanjz in atl, in tepetl, cujx ie ixqujch, cujx ie

4. *Ayauhtonan*: *Cuphea jorullensis*; *Porophyllum coloratum*. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson: *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, "Earthly Things," Monographs of The School of American Research and The Museum of New Mexico, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1963), pp. 139, n. 23; 192, n. 4.

5. *Tzitziquilitl*: *Erigeron pusillus*. *Ibid.*, p. 136, n. 1.

6. *Itzmiquilitl*: purslane; or *Portulaca* sp. *Ibid.*, p. 134, n. 3.

7. *Tepicquilitl*: *Mesembryanthemum blandum*. *Ibid.*, p. 137, n. 6.

Perhaps it is so? Perhaps it was determined above us, in the land of the dead? Perhaps it hath been said of us. It hath been told above us.

"Yet, [concede] just a little! The poor, those who totter, who crawl, those on the ground, those who lie on the board, who lie on the plank; those who know nothing — what have they been fed? What will go to be their punishment? And they know not yet if we have caused offense in something above us, in the land of the dead⁸ — if our stench, our rottenness have arisen, have gone to arrive above us in the heavens. Maybe it is all. Maybe it is so. Maybe at this moment it will darken, all will be devastated, all will be lost. In what manner may we speak? In what manner [would it be] to no purpose? And to whom might we complain? For it hath been declared.

"May the commoner rejoice, may he be glad. Let it be definitively disposed, for already he suffereth continual pain in his heart, in his body; for he is stretched out in the heat all night, all day; for his poor heart is burned up.⁹

"A frightful thing is the serpent that lieth within; it lieth slaving, lieth panting, lieth crying out. It is a frightful thing as it burneth, as it crieth, as it crackleth.¹⁰

"May it soon come to pass, to happen — that which the old men, the old women come knowing, come guarding: that that which is above us will fall in; that the demons will descend, will come to destroy the earth, will come to eat the common folk; that there will be eternal darkness on earth; that nowhere will there be people on earth. The grandfathers, the grandmothers come knowing it, come guarding it; it cometh to be their store of knowledge that it will come to happen, will come to pass, when it is already the time of the end, when it is already the end of the earth, when the earth hath become tired, when already it is all, when already it is so, when the seed of the earth hath ended, when it hath become [as] an old man, [as] an old woman, when it is worthless,

ihuhquj, cujx oitoloc in topan in mjctlan, cujx otitoloque, otopan tlatoloc.

Iece ça ixqujtzin, motolinja in moquequetza, in movilana in tlalli ixco ca, in quavic onoc, in oapaltentoc in aia qujmomachitia, tle ocuel conmoqualti, tlê cuel conmotzacujlitiuh: auh ca aiamo ichoatl qujmomachitia intla otitlaellelaxitique in topan in mjctlan, intla otlecoc, intla oacitimoquetzato in topan in jlvicac in tijaca, in topalanca: a ce ixqujch, a ce ihuhquj, a ce imman in tlaiooaz, in tlaliooaz, in poli-oaz quen tiqujtoanj, quen nen: auh ac tictolvianj, ca nel omjto.

Manoce cuel mocujltono, motlamachti in maceoalli: ma centlamjc qujmati, ca ie totoneoa in jiollo in jnacaio, ca ceioal ca cemjlvitl in tlepan moteca, ca tlecujlolo in jiolotzin:

ca temamauhti in coatl in jtlic onoc in vallaztlactoc, in oalneneciuhtoc, in oaltatzitoc: ca temamauhti injc tlatla, injc tzatzi, injc hicoioca.

Manoçe ça ie cuel nelti, muchioa in qujmattiujtze vevetque, ilamatque in qujpixtiujtze ioalpachiviz topan manj, in oaltemozque tzitzitzimj in qujpoloqujvi tlalli, in qujquaqujvi maceoalli, injc cemmaian tlaiooaz tlatlicpac: in acan iez tlatlicpac in qujmattivitze, in qujpixtitvitze in cultin, in citi in jnpial ictivitze, in muchioatiuh in neltitiuh, in ie tlatzonpan, in ie tlatzonco in olatziuh in tlalli, in ie ixqujch in ie ihuhquj in otlán in jxinach tlalli, in ovevetic, in oilamatic in aioc tle inecoca, in aiocmo teatlitiz, tetlamacaz: manoço cuel ichoatl totecoc, ma necujltonolo, ma netlamachtilo.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "Que an hecho los pobrezitos, porque sean afligidos y muertos de hambre? njingunas ofensas an hecho, nj saben que cosa es pecar, nj an ofendido a los dioses del cielo, nj a los del infierno: y si nosotros hemos ofendido en muchas cosas, y nuestras ofensas an llegado al cielo y al infierno. . ."

9. Ibid.: "hagase, perdamonos todos: y esto con brevedad, porque no suframos tã proliza jutiga que mas graue es lo q̃ padecemos, que si estuviésemos en el fuego quemandonos. . .". Verb forms may be taken as vetative — i.e., "May the commoner be impoverished, ruined," etc. A number of passages in Book VI may thus be open to discussion.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "cierto es cosa espantable çufrir la hambre, que es assi como vna culebra que con desseo de comer, esta tragando la salina, y esta carleando demandando de comer, y esta bozeando, porque le den comjda, es cosa espantable ver el [sic] agonja que tiene, demandando de comer: es esta hambre tan intensa, como vn fuego encendido, que esta hechando de si chispas, o centellas."

when it will no longer provide one with drink, with food. O our lord, may there already be wealth, may there be happiness.¹¹

"And here truly now, may pestilence seize the common folk. May it be the work, the labor,¹² of Mictlan tecutli. Perhaps Chicome coatl, Cinteotl will yet have them carry a little, will help them. Perhaps yet on the way to the land of the dead, she will put a little atole, a morsel into their mouths; it will be their provision.

"And may they be workers¹³ for the sun, Quauhtleuanitl, Xippilli, the valiant warrior, the brave one, Totonametl in manic, for the commoners, the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors will be provided with glory. Within the desert, in the midst of it, they will be valiant; [their bones] will lie strewn. The hair will lie blanched, the bones, the skulls will be broken up. And already they will know the home of the sun. There the sun is gladdened, is cried out to. There the different savory, fragrant flowers are sucked. There the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, those who died in war, the valiant warriors, the brave, are glorified.

"And the babies, the children, those yet fledglings, yet tender, those who know nothing, will be made precious green stones, will be made precious turquoises, in the heavens, in the home of the sun. Their hearts are true precious green stones, true precious turquoises, true well-polished, precious turquoises, which they will give to the sun. And thy older sister, the older sister of the gods, the Tlamacazque — Chicome coatl — will cause them to carry, will insert in their entrails, will provide them with provisions, will go establishing them beyond. It is the same as our bones, our flesh; the same as our staff, our rod, the same as our girdle, our strength, which the common folk have received as collective merit.

"But this [hunger], O master, O our lord: now, in truth, the common folk, the vassals, the subjects, already witness, experience, magnify suffering, for they are really destitute; in truth, these same are destitute. In truth, these same suffer, endure [hunger]; the bones, the bodies of these same experience

Auh iz nelle axcan manoce cuculiztli qujcu in maceoalli: ma ichoatl tequjtinj, tlacutinj, in mictlan tecutli, açoc achi qujmotqujtiz, qujpaleviz in chicome covatl, in cinteutl: açoc mjectlampa achi atolatl, tlapancuj icamac actiaz ijtac ictiaz.

Auh manoce tequjtinj in tonatiuh, in quauhtle-oanjtl, in xippilli, in tiacauh in oqujchtli, in totonametl in manjc: ca motitimalotiaz in maceoalli in quauhtli, in ocelutl: Ca ixtlahoatl itic, inepantla mopopoiauhtoz, momoiaatoz: in tzentli ticeoatoz, in omjtl in quaxicalli xaxamacaticaz: auh ie ontlatmatiz in tonatiuh ichan, in vmpa aviltilo tonatiuh in oioujlo in vmpa chichinalo in nepapan velic, aviac xuchitl: in vmpa netimalolo in quauhtin, ocelo, in iaomjcque, in tiacaoa in oqujchtin.

Auh in piltzintli, in conetzintli in oc tototl, in oc atzintli: in aia qujmomachitia, ca chalchiuhtitiaz, ca teuxiuhtitiaz in ilvicac in tonatiuh ichan, vel chalchivtl, vel teuxivtl, vel teuxiuhtlamatilolli in jiollo, in conmacaz tonatiuh: auh ca qujtqujtiaz ca ixillan actiaz, ca ie ytaquetiaz, ca nachca conquetzatiuh in moveltioatzin, in teteu in tlamacazque inveltiuh in chicome coatl, in çan iê yio tomjo, tonacaio, in çan ie ijo totopil tonetlaquechil, in çan ie ijo tonelpil tochicaoca: in qujcemmaceuh maceoalli.

Auh injn tlacatle totecoc: in axcan ca nelli in tecoco, in ie conjtta, in ie commati, in ie qujtimaloa in maceoalli, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, in jtconj, in mamalonj in tlamamalli: ca ie vel vmpa onqujça, nelli vel ie, vmpa onqujça, nelli vel ie conjhiiovia, nelli vel ie côciavi, nelli vel ie commati in jomjo, in

11. *Ibid.*: "esto los viejos lo supieron, y ellos lo divulgaron, y de mano en mano a venjido hasta nosotros, que se a de cumplir hacia la [sic] fin del mundo: despues que ya la tierra estunujere harta, de produzir mas criaturas. Señor nuestro por riquezas, y passatiempos tendremos: que esto venga sobre nosotros."

12. Possibly this phrase should be expressed as optative of verb. See Carochi, *Arte de lengua mexicana*, p. 426.

13. See n. 12.

it; suffering hath reached their very hearts. Not just once, not just twice, do they endure, do they encounter death. And thereafter [so do] the little animals.

"And now, O master, O ruler, O Xoxouhqui, O lord of rubber, O lord of incense, may it be thy will: look with affection at the common folk; for the governed are already gone, already perished, already destroyed, crushed, shattered. Already all is lost on earth; already it drieth up, it dieth. The insects, the animals are already destroyed.

"May it be thy will: grant that our lords, the gods, the Tlamacazque, the lords of incense, the lords of copal may do their labor, may do their duty on earth. May the wealth, the riches be opened up. May mist rattle boards billow;¹⁴ may cloud rattle boards¹⁵ shake. May they take up the rubber sandals. Help, favor Tlaltecuitli with a drop, a sprinkle of rain; he raiseth, he nourisheth the people. And console that which lieth suffering, the maize, the precious prince, the older sister of the gods, who lieth stretched on the ridge, who is faint on the ridge, who is weakened.

"May the common folk rejoice, may they be glad.¹⁶ May they behold, may they marvel at [that which is as] the precious green stone, the precious turquoise—the plants, the substance of our lords, the Tlamacazque, the Tlaloque, who come bringing, come sprinkling, come bearing their goods. And may the animals, the plants rejoice [and] be glad. May the roseate spoonbill, the troupial sing, flutter, sip [flower nectar].

"And may it be that the annoyance, the fury, not go on appearing for the common folk, who lie thinned by the heat. They will be afraid of it; they will take fright because of it.¹⁷

"Let there be no fury. May they take, may they strike [with lightning] only those whose gift it was to have lived, to have been born at the time of those who belong there in Tlalocan, those whose possession, whose gift it is. May they not mock the vassals who travel all the forest, all the grasslands, who fill all the desert. May they also in no manner harm

jnacaio, ie vel itech onaci in jiollo in tecoco: amo çan ceppa, amo çan oppa mjqujztli in ie qujiecoa, in ie qujtta: auh niman ie ich in iulcatzintli.

Auh in axcan tlacatle, tlatoanje, xoxouhque, olloe, yiauhioe manoço xicmonequilti, manoçoc monacazti-tlanpatzinco xicmottili in maceoalli: ca ie iauh, ca ie polivi, ca ie ixpolivi, ca ie xamanj, ie xaxamaca in tlatqujtl in tlamamalli, ie tlaixpolivi in tlatcicpac ie tlaoaquj ie mjquj in tlachichinanj, in manenemj ie ixpoliuj:

manoço xicmonequilti, ma xiqujnmomacavili y totecujoa, in teteu, in tlamacazque in jauhioque in copalloe: ma motlacotiliquj, ma motequjtiliquj, in tlatcicpac: ma tlapovi in necujltonolli, in netlamachtilli ma molonj yiauhchicaoaztli ma viujxavi in aiachquavitl: ma qujmocujlican in olcactli, ma centlachipinaltzin, ma centetzintli haoachtzintli ic xicmopalevili ic xicmonanamjqujli in tlattecuitli in tlaaoapaoa in tlaacazcaltia: auh manoço xicmoiolallili in tlahiiovitoc in tonacaiutl in tlaçopilli in teteu inveltiuh in cuenco momavilanaltitoc, in cuenco moçotlaviltitica, in mjhiocavilia:

ma mocujltono ma motlamachtli in maceoalli, ma qujtta ma qujmaviço in chalchivitl in teuxivitl in qujltzintli in jnnacaiotzin totecujoa in tlamacazque in tlaoque, in qujtqujtitze, in qujtzetzelotivitze in jntlatquj ietiujtz. Auh ma mocujltono, ma motlamachtli in iulcatzintli in xiuhtzintli: ma tlato ma papatlaca, ma tlachichina in quechol in çaquan:

auh macanoçomo imelleltzin, in tlaveltzin oalmoquetzatiuh, ca tonalpitzavatoc in maceoalli qujmo-mauhtilizque qujmjçavilizque:

macamo motlatlaveltitzitzinoca, ma çan ichoatl qujmanjlica, qujmovitequjlican in ie innemactzin, in jpan iol, in jpan tlacat in vmpa pouhquj tlaoca: in jmaxcatzin in jnnemactzin: macamo ica maviltizque in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, in cenquavitl, in cençacatl mantiuh, in cemjxtlaoatl tētimanj. Macamo no quen qujmuchiujlican in xoxovixtoc in quavitl, in metl, in

14. *yiauhchicaoaztli*: read *ayauhchicauaztli*. Cf. Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 59.

15. *aiachquavitl*: the term could refer to the *ayochicauaztli*, also a mist rattle board. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 145. The corresponding Spanish text reads, "muevanse las sonajas de alegría que son báculos de los señores dioses del agua..."

16. See n. 9. Though vetatives may be more literal, the affirmative appears to be more appropriate to the context.

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "y no sea esto con troenos, y rayos significadores de vuestro enojo: porque si vienen nuestros señores tlaloques con truenos, y rayos como los macegales, estan flacos y toda la gente muy debilitada de la hambre espantarlos an, y atemorizarlos an."

that which lieth green — the trees, the maguey, the nopal, all which lieth germinating — for they are the source, the life of the common folk, the support of the poor, the unhappy, the discontented, the forsaken, the useless, those whose sustenance appeareth not, whose intestines go stuck to their sides, go rumbling.

"O master, O precious nobleman, O Tlamacazqui, may thou incline, may thou do good in thy heart. Console the earth and all which live thereon: those which travel on the face of the earth. I call out, I cry out to ye who occupy the four quarters, ye who are the Xoxouhque, ye who are the Tlamacazque, ye who are lords of the mountains, ye who are lords of the caves. Come back; come, console the common folk. Water the earth, for the earth, the living creatures, the herbs, the stalks remain watching, remain crying out, for all remain trusting. Be diligent, O gods, O our lords."

nopalli in jxqujch ixvatoc: ca itlaanca ca ijulca in maceoalli, ca inenca in jcnotlacatl, in nentlacatl in aiavia in avellamati in tlacnocavalli, in aoalnecinj in jcochca in jneuhca in jcoaiioiotzin itech motetecatinemj yn jtech icoiocatinemj.

Tlacatle tlaçopille, tlamacazque: ma tlacaoa ma tlacoti in moiollotzin ma xicmoiollalili in tlalli: ioan in jxqujch itech nemj, in tlalli ixco qujztinemj. A ca namechnotza, ca namechtzatzilia in nauhcac antemj, in anxoxouhque in antlamacazque, in antepeioque, in amoztoioque ma xioalmovicacan, ma xioalvia: ma xicmoiollaliliquj in maceoalli, ma ximotlaavililiquj in tlalticpac: ca onjtztoc, ca ontzatzitoc in tlalli, in ivlquj, in xivitl, in tlacotl ca muchi onmotemachitoc, ma xioalmjcviticā teteue totecoane.



Ninth Chapter. Here are told the words which the ruler spoke when he had been installed as ruler, to entreat Tezcatlipoca because of having installed him as ruler, and to ask his help and his revelation, that [the ruler] might fulfill his mission. Very many are his words of humility.

"O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind, thou hast inclined thy heart. Perhaps thou hast mistaken me for another, I who am a commoner; I who am a laborer. In excrement, in filth hath my lifetime been — I who am unreliable; I who am of filth, of vice. And I am an imbecile. Why? For what reason? It is perhaps my desert, my merit that thou takest me from the excrement, from the filth, that thou placest me on the reed mat, on the reed seat?

"Who am I? Who do I think I am that thou movest me among, thou bringest me among, thou countest me with thy acquaintances, thy friends, thy chosen ones, those who have desert, those who have merit? Just so were they by nature; so were they born to rule; thou hast opened their eyes, thou hast opened their ears. And thou hast taken possession of them, thou hast inspired them. Just so were they created, so were they sent here. They were born at a time, they were bathed at a time, their day signs were such that they would become lords, would become rulers. It is said that they will become thy backrests, thy flutes. Thou wilt have them replace thee, thou wilt have them substitute for thee, thou wilt hide thyself in them; from within them thou wilt speak; they will pronounce for thee — those who will help, those who will place on the left, who will place in obsidian sandals, and who will pronounce for thy progenitor, the mother of the gods, the father of the gods, Ueucteotl, who is set in the center of the hearth, in the turquoise enclosure, Xiuhtecutli,¹ who batheth the people, washeth the people, and who

Ic chicunavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa in tlatolli: in qujtoaia tlatoanj, in jquac omotlatocatlali ynic qujtla-tlauhtiaia Tezcatlipuca: in jpampa in oqujtlataca-tlalli, ioan injc qujtlanjliaia in jtepaleviliz ioan in jtetlanextiliz injc vel qujchioaz in jtequjuh: cenca miec in jnecnomachiliztlatol

Tlacatle totecoc, tloquee, naoaquee ioaalle checatle: otlaauhquj in moiollo, aço tinechmotlanevilia in njmaceoalli in njtlapalivi: in cujtlatitlan in tlaçul-titlan nonemja, in anjcemelle in njteuhio, in njtla-çullo. Auh in anommati in njxco, in nocpac: tleica, tle ipampa: cujx nolujl, cujx nomaceoal in cujtlati-tlan, in tlaçultitlan in tinechmanjlia? in petlapan, in jcpalpan tinechmotlalilia?

ac nehoatl, ac njnomati in jntlan tinechmjquanjlia in jntech tinechmaxitilia, in jntech tinechmopovilia in motlaiximachoan, in mocnjoan, in motlapepenah-
hoan in jlvileque, in maceoaleque: in çan njman juh iulque, in juh tlatatque in petlatizque, in jcpal-tizque, in tiqujmjxcoionj, in tiqujnnacaztlapo: auh in tiqujxox, in tiqujmjpitz: in çan njman iuh ioco-loque, iuh oalivaloque: in jpan tlatatque, in jpan maltique: in juhcan ca intonal in tecutizque, in tlatocatizque, in mjtoa, in monetlaxonjoa, in motla-tlapitzalhoan muchioazque, in tiqujnmoujtiz, in tiqujnmopatillotiz, in tiqujnmomaoaltiz in jmjtictitlatoz, in mjztlatenqujxtilizque, in qujnanamjqujz-que, in copuchtizque, in qujtzactizque: auh in quj-tlatenqujxtilizque in motechiuhcauh in teteu inna, in teteu inta, in veueteutl in tlexicco, in xiuhtetza-qualco maqujtoc in xiuhtecutli in teahaltia, in tepa-paca: auh in qujcotonjlia, in qujcavilia in jpolivia in jacoqujçaa in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in maceoalli.

1. Note comparable passages in Chaps. 4 and 17.

determineth, who concedeth the destruction, the exaltation of the vassals, of the common folk.²

"O master, O lord of the near, of the nigh, thou hast inclined thy heart, thou hast shown me mercy. Perhaps it is [because of] the weeping, the sorrowing, of the old men, the old women, those who have gone beyond to reside; perhaps it is [because of] their spines, their maguey³ which they left planted deep.

"May I not regard myself. May I not consider myself worthy of the favor, may I not consider myself deserving of that of which I dream, which I see in dreams. It is the load, the burden on the back, heavy, intolerable, insupportable; the large bundle, the large carrying frame which those who already have gone to reside beyond went assuming when they came to guard for thee, when they came to reign.

"It is all, O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, O night, O wind, O Teyocoyani, O Teimadini, O Techichiuani. Poor am I. In what manner shall I act for thy city? In what manner shall I act for the governed, for the vassals? For I am blind, I am deaf, I am an imbecile, and in excrement, in filth hath my lifetime been; and my desert, my task, is greens, is wood.⁴

"And here my real desert, my real merit, my real gift is blindness, paralysis, rottenness. And the tatters, the miserable cape are my desert, my merit, my gift. And I am that which should be carried, I am that which should be borne upon the back; for there are thy friends, thy acquaintances.⁵

"However, thou hast determined it; thou art provided with laughter on earth. May thy spirit, thy word be regarded; may they be satisfied.

"Perhaps thou mistakest me for another; perhaps thou seekest another in my stead. Behold, thou wilt take unto thyself, wilt move unto thyself, wilt hide unto thyself thy wonder, thy glory. Thou hast become tired, thou art vexed. Behold, thou wilt give it to thy real friend, thy real acquaintance, the weeper, the sorrower, the sigher, the deserving one.

"Do I dream? Do I see in dreams?

Tlacatle, tloquee, naoaquee: otlacauhquj in mo-
iollo otinechmocnelili: aço inchoqujz, aço intlaocul:
aço invitz, aço imjeuh vecatlan contlazteoque in
vevetque, in jlamatque in ie nachca ommantij:

ma çan nê njnotta ma njcnolviltoca, ma njcnornac-
toca in njctemjquj, in njccochitleoa: in tlatconj, in
tlamamalonj, in etic, in acoaliztli in aixnamjqujliztli:
in vey qujmjlli, in vei cacaxtli, in aquiiecotivi in ie
nachca ommantivi, in omjtzmotlapialilico in opetla-
tico, yn oicpaltico.

Ça ie ixqujchtzin tlacatle, totecoc: tloquee, naoa-
quee, ioaalle, checatle, teiocoianje, tehimatinje, techi-
chioanje: ninotolinja, quen njcnochiviliz in matzin,
in motepetzin: quen njecchioaz in tlatqujtl, in tlama-
malli, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: ca njxpopoiotl, ca
njnacatzatzatza, ca anommati in njxco, in nocpac: auh
ca cujtlatitlan, tlaçultitlan nonemja: auh ca qujlitl, ca
quavitl nolvil notequjuh.

Auh ca vnca in vel nolhvil, in vel nomaceoal, in
vel nonemac in jxpopoiotl, in cocototztli, in palana-
liztli: auh in tzotzomatli, in aiaçulli, ca ieçoaatl nol-
vil, nomaceoal: ca ieçoaatl nonemac: auh ca neçoaatl
njtconj, njmamalonj, ca oncate in mocnjoan, in
motlaiximachocan.

Auh ca tel oticmjtalhvi ca titlavevetzqujtilo in tlat-
ticpac: ma popouj, ma ixtlavi in mjhiotzin, in
motlatoltzin:

aço tinechmotlanevilia, aço noca timotlatemolia.
Ha toconmocujliz, ha toconmjquanjiz, ha toconmj-
nailiz in momavizio, in motleio: in otenciavic in
otontzavic. Ha toconmomaqujliz in vel mocnuh, in
motlaiximach: in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in elcicivinj
in maceoale.

A manoço njtemjquj, manoço njcochitleoa.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "y para que se conformen, con el querer del antiguo dios, y padre de todos los dioses, que es el dios del fuego, que esta en el alverque de agua [hogar is here crossed out] entre almenas [rroas is here crossed out] cercado de piedras como roas, el qual se llama Xihitecutli, el qual deternjna, y examjna, y conclue [sic] los negocios, y letigios del pueblo, y de la gente popular: como laun-
doles con agua: al qual siempre acõpañan, y estan en su presencia las personas generosas: arriba dichas." On the phrase, "will place on the left ... will place in obsidian sandals," see Chap. 43.

3. imjeuh: read imeuh, "their maguey." Context and evidence here and in Chap. 25 favor this translation rather than imyewh, "their smoking tube."

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "y mj facultad: es buscar, y vender yeruas para comer, y traer leña a cuestas, para vender."

5. Ibid.: "pues que teneyz muchos amjgos, y muchos conocidos a q'en pudeys encomendar este cargo."

"Thou who art here, thou who art Teimatini, thou who art Teyocoyani, thou who art Techichiuani, do not conceal, do not hide thy spirit, thy word.

"For hardly are we given explanation. What is the road I shall follow? What way shall I make? Do not conceal, do not hide the mirror, the torch, the light. May I not carry things into dangerous places. May I not direct, introduce the governed into the forest, to the cliff. May I not cause one to encounter, to see the way of the rabbit, of the deer.⁶ And may something [evil] not move upon me; may warfare not move, unfold upon me. May hunger, may famine not befall me.

"To what purpose, in what manner shall I deal with the governed? Where shall I take them? Where shall I introduce them? Wretched have I become. What can I [do], I who am untrained, ignorant?

"And may sickness not unfold upon me, not spread upon me. What will result when already thou, lord of the near, of the nigh, makest thy city a place of desolation?⁷ What will result when already it lieth abandoned, lieth darkened? And what will result when filth, when vice have come upon me? What will result when I have ruined the city? What will result when I depart leaving the governed asleep, when I gladly leave them? What will result when I cast the common folk into the torrent; cast them from the crag?

"O master, O our lord, O night, O wind, do not depart completely. Come passing by here; know the humble reed enclosure, the mound of earth, for I await thee at thy humble home, at thy humble waiting place. I do what I can for thee, I place my trust in thee. I request, I seek, I expect, I ask of thee thy spirit, thy word, with which thou hast possessed, with which thou hast inspired thy friends, thy acquaintances, who ordered things for thee on thy reed mat, on thy reed seat, thy place of honor. It is where thou art given a proxy, where thou art replaced by another, where thou art substituted, where there is pronouncing for thee, where there is speaking for thee, where thou usest one as a flute, where thou speakest from within one, where thou makest one

A ca ie timeviltitica, in titehimatinj in titeiucoianj, in titechichioanj: macanoçomo xiqujnaia, macanoçomo xictlati in mjhijo, in motlatol:

ca çan tequjtl titlatenqujxtililo, catle in vtli in njc-tocaz, catle in njochioaz? macamo xicmjnaili, macamo xicmotlatili in tezcatl, in ocutl in tlavilli: ma nehoatl ovican njtlavica, ma quauhtla, ma texcalla njcvica, njccalaquj in tlatqujtl in tlamamalli: ma tochin maçatl yiovi njcnamjcti njqujtiti: auh ma itla nopan olin: ma teuatl ma tlachinolli nopan molinj, moiocux: ma apiztli, ma maianaliztli nopanti,

quen nen, quen njcnovichiliz, campa njcnoviqujliz, campa njccalaqujz in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli: omuchih onotlauehilitic, quen vel nehoapul in anjnozcallia, in anjnmaji:

auh ma nopanti ma cocoliztli nopan moman: quen mach nenti, in ie inencauhian ticmuchivilia in titloque, tinaoque, quen mach nenti in ie cactimanj, in ie ioatimanj in matzin, in motepetzin: Auh quē mach nenti in onopan ooalla in teuhitli, in tlaçulli, quen mach nenti in onjctlaçulmijcti in atl, yn tepetl: quen mach nenti in onjccochcauh, in onjcpaccacauh in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli: quen mach nenti in onjctoiaivi, in onjtepeixivi in maceoalli.

Tlacatle totecoc, ioalle, ehecatle macanoçomo cen ximovica, ma xioalmoqujxtitih, ma xiqualmomachiti in icnoacatzaqualli, in tlachcujtetelli: ca njmjtznochialia in mocnocha, in mocnochialoca: ca movicpatzinco njnentlamati ca njmjtznatemachilia, ca njqujtlanj, ca njctemoa, ca njctemachia ca njmjtztlanjlia in mjhijo, in motlatol: injc tiqunxox, injc tiqujmjpitzi in mocnoja, in motlaiximachioan in vel mjtztlatlatlilitoque in mopetlapā, in mocpalpan in momaviziocan: in vncan topuchtilo, in vncan tizcactilo, in vncan timotevivitia, in vncan timotepatil-lotia, in vncan titlatenqujxtililo, in vncan titlatalvilo, in vncan timotetlatlapitzaltia, in vncan teitic titlatoa, in vncan timoteixtia, timotenacatzia, in vncan timotetentia, timotecamachaltia:

6. *ma tochin maçatl yiovi njcnamjcti njqujtiti*: cf. Chap. 43; also Olmos, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17.

7. The corresponding Spanish text differs somewhat: "no permittays señor, que se leuante alguna guerra contra mj, no permittays que venga alguna pestilencia, sobre los que tengo de regir, porque no sabre lo que en tal caso tengo de hazer, nj por donde tengo de guiar, a los que lleuo a cuestas..."

thy eyes, thy ears; where thou makest one thy mouth, thy jaw.⁸

"And there thou art provided with laughter; there thou selectest one, thou screenest one out; there thou livest, thou rejoicest among thy real friends, thy true acquaintances. There thou takest possession of, thou inspirest the weeper, the sorrower, the sigher, those who truly deliver their minds, their hearts to thee. And there thou dost bequeath them, there thou arrayest them with, there thou givest them the broad mirror, the two-faced mirror wherein we commoners appear. There thou givest them, thou settest up for them the thick torch, the clear one which lighteth, illumineth the world.⁹

"And there thou dost bequeath them, thou arrayest them with, thou placest upon them, thou honorest them, glorifiest them with the peaked hat, the turquoise diadem, and the earplug, the lip plug, the head band,¹⁰ the arm band, the band for the calf of the leg, the necklace, the precious feather.

"And [there] thy heat, thy warmth, thy freshness, thy tenderness, thy sweetness, thy fragrance come from thee; and there is received as merit the peace, the contentment, the peaceful life, the moment of well-being by thy grace. And there are received as merit paralysis, blindness, the miserable cape, rags. And there is demanded of thee, there is hastened thy time of destroying one, thy time of hiding one: death.

"O master, O Teyocoyani, O Teimatini, O Techichiuani, is it perhaps of my own doing, I being a commoner, the manner in which I shall live, what I shall do, what I shall perform? Thou wilt determine the way on thy reed mat, on thy reed seat, thy place of honor. And howsoever thou wilt require of me, that I shall do, that I shall perform. Whichsoever road thou wilt show me, that one I shall follow; whatsoever thou wilt reveal unto me, that I shall say, that I shall pronounce.

"O master, O our lord, I leave myself, I place myself completely in thy hands, for I cannot govern myself; for I am blind, I am darkness; I am the corner, I am the wall. May thou incline thy heart;

auh in vncan titlavevetzqujtilo, in vncan timotepe-penjlia, timotetlatzetzelhoazvilia, in vncan intlan tinemj, in jntlan tipaquj in vel mocnjoan, in nelli motlaiximachaoan, in vncan tiqujnxoxa, in tiqujm-jpitza in chocanj, in tlaoculanj, in elcicivinj in vel mjtzmaca in jmjx, in jiollo: auh in vncan tiqujntla-mamaca, in vncan tiqujncencaoa, in vncan tiqujnm-anjlia in coiaaoac tezcatl, in necoc xapo, in vmpa ton-neci in timaccoalti, in vncan tiqujnmaca tiqujnque-chilia in tomavac ocutl in apocio in cemanaoac tlvia, tlanextia:

auh in vncan tiqujnmotlamamaqujlia, in vel tiquj-mocencavilia, in jntech timotlatlatlililia in tiquj-moveililia, in tiqujnmovēcapanjlvia in tetepeiotl, in xivitzolli: auh in nacochtli, in tentetl, in tlalpilonj, in matemecatl, in cotzeotl, in cozcotl, in quetzalli.

Auh ichoatl in mototonca, in moiamanca, in motz-molinca in mocelica, in motzopelica, in maviaca in motechcopa vitz: auh in vncan maceoalo in jvian-iotl, in iocuxcaiotl, in paccanemjliziotl in achitzinca in mopaltzinco nevelmachiliztli. Auh in vncan maceoalo in cocototztli in jxpopoioatl, in aiaçullli in tatapatli: auh in vncan titlanjlilo in vncan hicivitulo in motepolovaia, in motetlatiaia in mjqujztli.

Tlacatle teiucoianje, tehimatinje, techichioanje: cujx nonnoiocoia in njmaceoalli in quenjn nonne-mjz, in tlein nonaiz, in tlein noconchioaz in mope-tlapan, in mocpalpan in momaviziocan, in quenjn toconmonequjltiz: auh in quenjn tinechonmone-qujliliz, ca ichoatl nonaiz, ca ichoatl noconchioaz, in catle vtli tinechmottiliz: ca ichoatl nocontocaz, in catlehoatl tinechmoiollotiliz, ca ie njqujtoz, ca ichoatl njctenqujxtiz.

Tlacatle, totecoc: ca mocemmactzinco njnocaao, njnotlalia, ca amo njnotquj, ca amo njnomama, camo njnoiocoia, ca njxpopoioatl ca njtlaiooalli, ca njx-molli ca njcaltechitli: ma tlacaoa in moiollotzin, ma

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "dōde a un lado, y a otro se sientan vñs senadores, y principales, que son vuestra ymagen, y como vña persona propia: los quales sentencian, y hablan, en las cosas de la republica en vño nombre, y vsays dellos, como de vñas flautas, hablando dentro dellos, y ponjendos en sus caras, y en sus oydos, y habriendo sus bocas, para bien hablar..."

9. Ibid.: "para que vean, como en espejo de dos hazes, donde se representa la ymagen de cada vno: y por la mjima causa, los days vna hacha muy clara, sin njngun humo, cuya claridad, se estiende, pos todas partes..." Cf. also Chap. 43.

10. Ibid.: "el tlalpilonj, que es la borla de la cabeça..."

require that I deserve, that I merit a little, a bit, a firefly-flash of thy torch, thy light, thy mirror, in order that, as if in dreams, as if seeing in dreams, [I endure] for a while, a day. I shall bring about for thee the ruination of government, the laughable, the folly on thy reed mat, on thy reed seat, on thy place of honor.

"O master, O our lord, come passing by here, that I be not ruined, that I be not endangered, and that I be not murmured against.

"O master, O our lord, verily I am thy backrest, I am thy flute; not by my desert, not by my merit. I am thy lips, I am thy jaw, I am thy eyes, I am thy ears. And me, a commoner, a laborer, thou hast made thy teeth, thy fingernails. Insert, place within me a little of thy spirit, of thy word; it is that which is ever heeded and is irrefutable."

This he prayed standing, standing bowed, standing head bowed, placing the feet well together. And the very devout stood naked. Perhaps he first offered copal in the fire or offered incense. And when someone stood, cape tied on, he placed his knot in front. And when someone squatted — placed himself as a man — he placed his knot over his shoulder.

xicmonequilti ma achitzin, ma tepitzin, ma icpitica-tzintli njcnopilti, nomaccoalti in mocotzin, in motlaviltzin, in motezcatzin: injc temjteuh, cochitleuteuh achica cemilvitl, tlaxoxopealiztli, vevetzcaiutl, chocholocaiutl njmjtzonnochiviliz in mopetlapan, in mocpalpan in momaviziocan.

Tlcatle, totecoc: ma xioalmoqujxtituh ic avel in onontlapolo, ic avel mononovitic, auh ic avel in onopan tlacaoacac:

tlcatle, totecoc, ca nel njmonetlaxonjuh, ca njmotlatlapitzal in maca nocnopil, in maca nomaccoal ca njmoten, ca njmocamachal, ca njmix, ca njmonacaz: auh ca njmotlan, ca njmozti tinechmuchivilia in njmaceoalli, in njtlapalivi: ma achitzin njtic xicmocalaqujli, xicmomacavili in mjhiio in motlatol, in iehoatl centemachtli: auh in atlacuepquj:

Injn tlatlatlauhtia moquetzticac, momalcochoticac, toloticac, vel qujnnevanmana inicxi. Auh y cenca tlateumatinj petlauhticac, aço achtopa copaltema in tleco, anoço tlenamaca: auh in aca motlalpilicac ixpāpa qujtlalia in jnetlalpilil: auh in aca eoatica moqujchtalia yaculpan qujtlalia in jnetlalpilil.



Tenth Chapter. Here are told the words with which they greeted and with which they prayed to the ruler after he had been installed. And these words or prayers someone said who was a great priest, or a great nobleman, or some great dignitary, who knew the words well. These words are very admirable and the metaphors are very difficult; the sermon is very good.

"O master, O ruler, O precious person, O precious one, O valued one, O precious green stone, O precious turquoise, O bracelet, O precious feather, thou art here present; the lord of the near, of the nigh, he by whom we live, hath set thee here. Now, in truth, thy progenitors, thy great-grandfathers, have departed, have gone on to reside. Our lord hath destroyed, hath hidden those who already have gone to remain beyond — the ruler N., and the ruler N., etc. For they departed placing, they departed leaving the bundle, the carrying frame, the governed — heavy, intolerable, insupportable.¹

"Do they still know of their city, which already lieth abandoned, which already lieth darkened, which our lord hath already made his place of desolation? Do they still frequent that which is already completely forest, which is already completely desert, where the governed go? And the vassals no longer possess a mother, no longer possess a father. And no longer doth the city have the able, the prudent. They are as if mute; they speak not; they talk not; they are as if beheaded.

"Behold, there came the master, the ruler, the leader N., whom, for a while, for a short time, the city borrowed. The city borrowed him; [it seemed that] it dreamed of him, it saw him in dreams, for the master, our lord, hath summoned him, hath called out for him; for the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath placed him in retreat.² For he hath come to know, hath followed, hath arrived with his great-

Ic matlactli capitulo, vncan mjttoa in tlatolli: injc qujtlapaloaia, ioan injc qujtlatlauhtiaia in tlatoanj in qujn omotlali. Auh injn tlatolli, manaço tlatlatlauhtiliztli qujtoaia ce aca vei tlenamacac: anoço vei pilli, anoço aca vei tecutlato, in vel qujmatia tlatolli cenca maviçauhquj injn tlatolli, ioan cenca ohovi in machiotlatolli: cenca quaqualli in tenonotzaliztlatolli.

Tlacatle tlatoanje, tlaçotitlacatle, tlaçotzintle, tlaçotle chalchiuhle, teuxiujtle maqujztle, quetzalle: a ca tioalmovetzitia a ca njcan mjtzalmotlalilia in tloque, in naoaque in jpalnemoa. A ca nelle axcan, ca oiaque ca omotecato in motechiuhcaosan, in machcolvan in oqujnpolo, in oqujntlati in totecujo in ie nachca ommantuij: in tlatatl in. N. auh in tlatatl in. N. etc. ca oconquetzteoaque, ca oconcauhteaque in qujmjlli, in cacaxtli, in tlatconj in tlamamalonj, in etic in acoaliztli in aixnamqujliztli.

A mach oc qujvalmati in imauh in jntepeuh, in ie cactimanj, in ie ioatimanj in ie inencauhian qujmuchivilia totecujo: a mach oc oallamati in ie cenquavitl, in ie cemjxtlaoatl mantuih in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli: auh in aoc nane, in aoc tate in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, auh in aoc ixte, in aoc nacace, in aoc iollo in atl, in tepetl: in ma iuh nontitica, in amo naoati, in amo tlatoa in ma iuhquj quechcotontica.

A ca iz onjcatuih in tlatatl in tlatoanj, in tlatatecutli in N. in oc uel achic, in oachitzinca ontlatlaneuh in altepetl: in oqujmotlanevi in atl in tepetl, in oqujtemjc, in oqujcochitleuh: ca oqujoalmonochili, ca oqujoalmotatzilili in tlatatl, in totecujo: ca oconmotoptemjli, ca oconmopetlalcitemjli in tloque in naoaque. A ca oqujmomma, ca oqujmontocac: auh ca ointech onacic in jachcolvan, in jtechihcaosan:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "la carga del regimiento..."

2. Ibid.: "porque le llamo nuestro señor, para ponerle, en el recogimiento de los otros defunctos, sus antepasados, que estan como en arca, o en cofre guardados..."

grandfathers, his progenitors; for he hath followed, he hath arrived by our mother, our father, Mictlan tecutli.

"So, wherever one hath gone, will he yet return? It is all. It is so. He hath left forever. It was once and for all. Definitively he disposeth of the city. No more will he come to emerge, to appear for a while. Forever he hath gone to his retreat. And the torch, the light, hath gone, hath disappeared, is extinguished. Already the city of our lord lieth abandoned, lieth darkened. And somehow the governed, whom he left behind as he departed, will be destroyed, will be lost.

"He departed, leaving them there; he departed, placing the bundle, the carrying frame, the governed. Peacefully, quietly, he abandoned the city. Peacefully, quietly, he concluded his work upon the reed mat, upon the reed seat. Gently he came arranging things, ordering things, for him by whom we live. And certainly he came consuming his spirit; certainly he put forth all his effort for the city; he came growing ill before our lord. He did not come inserting his hands, his feet under [his cape].³

"And now, O lord, O our lord: our lord of the near, of the nigh, causeth the sun to shine, bringeth the dawn. It is thou: he pointeth the finger at thee; he indicateth thee. Our lord hath recorded thee, indicated thee, marked thee, entered thee in the books. Now verily it was declared, it was determined above us, in the heavens, in the land of the dead, that our lord place thee on the reed mat, on the reed seat, on his place of honor. The spine, the maguey⁴ of thy progenitors, of thy great-grandfathers — which they planted deep as they departed, which they planted, which they placed in the earth as they departed — sprouteth, flowereth.

"Yet it is thou: thou wilt take over the burden, thou wilt take the bundle, thou wilt carry the carrying frame for thy progenitors, the lords, the rulers who departed bequeathing it to thee. Thou wilt take the place of those who have gone to remain beyond. Thou art to devote thyself to the great bundle, the great carrying frame, the governed. On thy back, on thy lap, in thy arms our lord placeth the governed,

a ca ocontocac, ca oitech onacic in tonan, in tota in mictlan tecutli:

in maca çan cana viloaia mach oc oalmocuepaz: ca ie ixquich ca ie iuhquj ca ocen onqujz, ca ocen-maian catca, ca centlamjc qujmati in atl in tepetl, ca aocmo macujl matlac onqujçaqujuh, ommoquetza-qujuh, ca ocen motopten mopetlacalten, auh ca oia, ca opoliuh, ca oceuh in ocutl, in tlavilli, ca ie cactimanj, ca ie ioatimanj in jatzin, in jtepetzin totecuj: auh anca ça quen poliujz anca quen pololoz in tlatqujtl in tlamamalli in oconteputzcauhteoc:

a ca vncan jn oconcauhteoc, oconquetzteoc in qujmilli in cacaxtli, in tlatconj in tlamamalonj: a ca ivian, ca iocuxca in oqujmotlalcauli in atl in tepetl, ca ivian ca iocuxca in ooieco in petlapan, in jcpalpan: ca tlamach ocontlatlatlilico, ocontlatetequjlico in jpalnemoanj: auh nelli mach in oontlamjco in jhijo, nelli mach in oipan oalohonotia in atl in tepetl omo-cocoaco in jxpantzinco totecuj: amo yma amo yicxi oitlan cahaqujco.

Auh in axcan tlatcatle, totecoc, ca tona tlatvi quichioa in totecuj in tloque naoaque: a ca tehoatl mjtzmapihlvia, mitzmachiotia: ca omjtzicujlo, ca omjtmachioti, ca omjzttilanj, ca omjztlapalauj in totecuj: a ca nelle axcan ca oitoloc, ca oiocoialoc in topan in jlvicac, in mictlan: mjtzmotlalilia in totecuj in petlapā, in jcpalpan in jmaviziocan, xotla, cueponj in jnvitz, in jmjeuh in motechiuhcaoan, in machcocoloan, in vecatlan contlazteoque, in qujto-catiaque in qujtlalaqujteoque.

A ca oc tehoatl toneticiviz, ca oc tehoatl tiqijnquj-mjlpatlaz, tiqjncacaxceviz in mutechiuhcaoan in tetcutin in tlatoque in mjtzmocaviliteoque, in jntechpa timoqujxti, in ie nachca ommantiuj: tehoatl itlan tonaquj in vei qujmilli, in vei cacaxtli, in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj: tē mocujtlapan, tē mocue-xanco, tē momamaloazco qujtlalia in totecuj, in

3. Ibid.: "no escondio sus manos, ni sus pies, debaxo de su manta con pereza, sino que con toda diligencia trabaxo por el bien de su reyno."

4. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "brotado a la rayz de vuestros antepassados, que possieron muy profunda y plantaron de muchos años atras." Cf. also Chap. 9, n. 3.

the vassals, the common folk, the capricious, the peevish.⁵

"For yet a while thou wilt fondle them as children; thou wilt rock the cradle. Thou art yet to place the city upon thy thigh, in thy embrace. Thou wilt yet for a while continue to fondle it, to dandle it."

"O master, O our lord, O precious person, it hath been said above us, in the land of the dead. The word hath been said; it hath been determined. It is thou. Upon thee it hath fallen. Upon thee hath gone the spirit, the word of our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh; he hath pointed his finger at thee. Verily, wilt thou hide thyself? Wilt thou take refuge? Wilt thou be absent? Wilt thou flee? And wilt thou already steel thyself?

"What dost thou think of our lord? And what dost thou think of the people? What dost thou think of our lords, the lords, the rulers, the noblemen, and the inhabitants of the city, who had [the inspiration of] the lord of the near, of the nigh, those who pointed, those who decreed, those who established, those who elected; those whom our lord made speak, whose jaws he moved? Their decree fell not from man, came not from man; they spoke divinely as they made thee mother, made thee father of the city.

"Now, O master, O our lord, O my nobleman, gird thyself, screw up [thy courage], prepare thyself, put thy shoulder to the bundle, to the carrying frame. May the spirit, the word of our lord be achieved, responded to, given devotion.

"Perhaps thou canst for a time support the governed. And perhaps also for a time, for a day, the city will dream — will see in dreams — that perhaps it will borrow thee. Do not reflect upon thyself; our lord knoweth, seeth, heareth the things within the rocks, within the wood. He will know thy secrets. Soon he will dispose something upon thee, for, in truth, he acteth of his own volition; he mocketh. Thou wilt become as smut, and he will send thee into the vegetation, into the forest. And he will cast thee, push thee, as is said, into the excrement, into the refuse. And also something evil, filthy, will come upon thee. And also some filth, vice, contention, discord will develop, will move upon thee.

tlatquijtl in tlamamalli, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in maceoalli in monenequijn, in moçoçomanj:

oc cucl achica, oc cucl tehoatl tonpilaviltiz toncoçulvivixoz: oc tehoatl mometzpan, momacochco tocontlatlaltiez in atl, in tepetl: oc tē cucl achica, achica toconaviltiz, tocontlavivitequjliz.

Tlacatle totecoc, tlaçotitlacatle: ca omjto in topan in mjctlan, ca oitoloc ca omoquapano in tlatolli: a ca tehoatl. otē omopan vetz, ca otē mopā ia in jhijo in jtlatol in totecujto in tloque, in naoaque, ca otē mjtzmapijvi cujx nel timotlatiz, cujx timjnaiaz, cujx canapa toiaz, cujx teixpampa teoaz? auh cujx no ie te timocujliz?

ac ticmati in totecujto, auh ac titemati, ac tiqujn-mati in totecujtoan in tetcutin, in tlatoque in pipilti: auh in aoaque in tepcoaque, in tloqueque naoaqueque in otlamapilvique, in otlatoque, in otlatlalique, in otlapepenque: in oqujntlatolli, in oqujncamachalolli in totecujto, in aotlacavetz in aotlacaqujz in jnten, in jntlatol in oteutlatoque: injc tehoatl omjtz-nantique mjtztatique in atl, in tepetl.

A naxcan tlatatle totecoc nopiltzintzine, ma aco ximolpi, ma aco ximotetzilo, ma ximuchichioa ma itlan xaquj in qujmjlli, in cacaxtli: ma tlaieieçavi ma cuepi, ma popovi in jhijo in jtlatol in totecujto,

aço vel achi tictotiz in tlatquijtl in tlamamalli: auh aço no achica cemjlvitl temjqujz, cochitleoaz, aço mjtzmotlaneviz in atl in tepetl. Ma ie mjtict titlato tetl itic, quavitl itic tlamati, tlachia tlaçaquj in totecujto: mjtztlamachiliz cā cucl itla mopan qujoalmo-nequjltiz, ca nel moiocoia, ca moquequelova tonpo-poiotiz: auh mjtzonmjoaliz in qujltitlan, in quauh-titlan: auh mjtzonmotlaxiliz, mjtzmotopeviliz in mjtoa in cujtlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan: auh no ce ytla teuhtli tlaçulli mopan oallaz: auh no ce mopan ioliz, mopan olinjz, itla teuhtli tlaçulli in tlaçuliaotl, in tlatoliaotl:

5. Ibid.: "que son muy antoiadizos, y muy enojadizos."

6. In the corresponding Spanish text this paragraph reads: "vos señor por algunos años, los aueys de sustentar, y regalar como a niños, que estan en la cuna, los aueys de poner, en vuestro regazo, y en vuestros brazos, a la gente popular: vos los aueys de halagar, y hazerles el son pa que duerman, el tfo que vinjerdas en este mundo."

"In thy time there will be disunity, quarreling in thy city. No more wilt thou be esteemed; no more wilt thou be regarded. Also war will move upon thee; thou wilt be detested. And also famine, hunger, will spread over thee. How will it be when in thy time the governed will scatter? And also there will come — our lord will send — his great castigation, sickness; sickness will come appearing in thy time. How will it be when the city will become, will be made his place of desolation? How will it be when it lieth already darkened, already his place of desolation?

"And also, then, soon thou wilt hurry to thy death, at this very place, at this very time. And soon it is all for thee; the lord of the near, of the nigh, will destroy thee, will hide thee, will trample thee underfoot.

"And also the eagle warrior, the ocelot warrior go making a din in the midst of the desert, on the battlefield. There is gladdened, and there drinketh and eateth, the sun, the lord of the earth. Considerable, endless is the castigation, the punishment, of our lord — his time of stoning one, his time of beating one.⁷

"And this, O master, O ruler, O our lord, O my nobleman: put forth all thy effort, give all, put forth all thy spirit. Sigh; be sad; call out in sadness to our lord, to the lord of the near, of the nigh. He is not perchance seen as a man, for he is the night, the wind. Submit thyself to him; weep, sigh. And may there be peace, calm, on the reed mat, on the reed seat, on the place of honor of the lord of the near, of the nigh. Receive, speak to those who come in anguish, and those who come meeting their fate. Be not a fool. May thou not speak hurriedly, may thou not interrupt, may thou not confound. Take yet, grasp yet, arrive yet at the truth, for, it is said and it is true, thou art the replacement, thou art the image of the lord of the near, of the nigh. Thou art the backrest, thou art the flute; he speaketh within thee; he maketh thee his lips, he maketh thee his jaw, he maketh thee his ears.

"And again take thou note: also cause not embarrassment, for our lord hath made thee his teeth, hath made thee his fingernails; for thou art like the destroyer, thou art the destroyer, thou art the judge.

mopan neahanotoz, nequaqualotoz in jpan mauh motepeuh: aoc tonpoviz, aoc tle ipan tittoz. Noce mjtł, chimalli mopan olinjz ticocoliloz: auh noce maianaliztli apiztli mopan momanaz: quen nenti in omopan xitin tlatqujtl, tlamamalli: auh noce oal-laz, qujoalmjoaliz in vei quauh, in jueiteuh totecujō, in cocoliztli: cocoliztli mopan momanaqujuh, quen nenti in oinencauhian muchiuhitiqujz in atl in tepetl: quenmach nenti in ie ioatimanj, quen nenti in ie inencauhian.

Auh noce njman ie çan cuel ticmjciviviliz in momj-qujz: çan vncan, y, çan inman, y: auh çan cuel tix-qujch mjtzonmopolviz, motzonmotlatiliz mjtzon-mocxipachilviz in tloque naoaque.

Auh noce onxaxamacatuih in quauhtli in ocelutl in jxtlaoatl itic, in teuatēpan in tlachinoltēpan in vncan avilitlo: auh in vncan atli, tlaqua in tonatuih, in tlaltecutli: ca ixachi ca acan tlanquj in jalcececauh in jtizticaz in jquauh in jteuh totecujō in jtemo-tlaia, in jteuitequja.

Auh injn tlatatle tlatoanje, totecocē nopiltzintzine: ma ixqujch motlapaltzin xicmuchivili, ma ixqujch xicmanjli: auh ma ixqujch mjhiotzin xicmuchivili, ma oc xonelcicivi, ma oc xontlaocuiā, ma oc xocon-motlaoculnonochili in totecujō, in tloque in naoaque: a cujx tlaaitto ca ioalli, ca ehecātl, ma oc itlan xon-mocalaquj, ma oc xonchoca, ma oc xonelcicivi: auh ma oc ivian ma oc iocuxca in ipetlapan in jcpalpan in jmauiziocan in tloque naoaque; ma xoconana, ma xoconnotza in jxaiotzin qujmatentivitz, auh in jtonal qujcujujvitz, macamo xonjxtomava. Ma ticiuhcatlato, ma ticcujuvitz in tlatolli, ma ne ticla-comotla, oc xiccuju, oc xicana, oc inelloca xaci, ca mjtoa, auh ca ie nelli ca tiujujti, ca tipatilloti in tlo-que naoaque, ca tinetlaxonjuh, ca titlatlapitzal ca mjtic tlatoa, ca mjtzmotēntia ca mjtzmocamachaltia, ca mjtzmocacāztia.

Auh ma nocuele titlaixitta, ma no ie titlahchiuh, ca mjtzmotlantia, ca mjtzmotitia in totecujō: ca titequājuh ca titequacāuh, ca titlatzontēcāuh: ma qualan in aqujn, ma moxicon aqujn: cujx timotla-

7. Ibid.: o por uentura supitamente embiarse sobre ti, exercitos de enemigos, de hazia, los yermos, o de hazia la mar, o de hazia las canas y despoblados donde se suelen exercitar las guerras, donde se suelen [sic] derramar la sangre, que es beuer del sol, y de la tierra, porque muchas y infinitas, maneras, tiene dios de castigar a los que le desobedecen."

May whosoever hath become angered be angered. Wilt thou perhaps act as a man? For it is thy charge. Will our lord perhaps speak as a man? For already he acknowledgeth thee.⁸

"Let this be: [not] reckless on the reed mat, the reed seat; [not] panting, [not] gasping for breath, even if thou wilt say: 'I am ruler; scatter the people, run over them, and steal from them, ruin them.'

"And may thou [not] be quarrelsome; may thou [not] therefore be brazen; may thou [not] offend the governed. May thou yet turn to thyself, examine thy conscience; may thou yet say: 'Whence was I sent? Whence was I taken? And where I am, where I live, may it not be my desert, my merit? I [only] dream of our lord's honors; I see them in dreams.'

"And [do not] be asleep, lie reclining, lie in pleasure; nor sleep, gorge, be a glutton; nor give thyself excessively to sleep. May thy possessions not go, not wrongly result from the sweat, the fatigue, the labor of the common folk. [Do not] distend thyself; [do not] fatten [thyself]; [do not] become drunk therefrom. And may perversion not come upon, [not] transform the sweetness, the fragrance of the lord of the near, of the nigh — his tenderness, his freshness, his heat, his warmth.⁹ Thereby thou causest offense.

"O my son, O our lord, O ruler, O my grandson: our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, is made to laugh. He is arbitrary, he is capricious, he mocketh. He willeth in the manner he desireth. He is placing us in the palm of his hand; he is making us round. We roll; we become as pellets. He is casting us from side to side. We make him laugh; he is making a mockery of us.

"Be especially welcomed. Pay special attention. Perhaps it is our desert, our merit, that we dream, that we see [only] in dreams that which our lord placeth upon thee, wisheth upon thee — fame,

caicuja, ca monaoatil: cujx tlacatlatoz in totecujó, ca ie tehoatl ticmati.

Manoço cucl ichoatl ma xonjxtotomaoatie in petlapan icpalpan, ma xonjicatie, ma xonneneciuhtie manel ie tiqijtoz ca njtlatoanj ma xontexaxamatza, ma tepā xonmotlalo: auh ma xontlatlacujtiuetzi, ma xontlacecenmana:

auh ma xonmamaçulti, ma ic xaquetza, ma mjaxco ma mocpac xicmana in tlatconj in tlamamalonj, ma oc tonmocuep, ma oc tonmocxitoca ma oc tiqijto: in canjn onjoaleoac, in can onanoto: auh in canjn ie njca, in canjn ie njnemj, intlaca mach ha nolvil, in mach ha nomacecoal, in njctemjquj, in njccochitleoa in jmvavizio in totecujó:

auh xicochto xivetztó, xipacto, ma xicochi, xipachivi xixvi ma mellelaci in cochiztli: ma motlaiauh, ma motlaaaquj in jitonah, in jiciaviz, in jtlapaliviz in maceoalli, xicmoxiuhioti, xicmonacaioti, ye xivinti: auh ma mjaxitl, ma tlapatl muchioa mocuepa in jtzopelica in javiaca in tloque naoaque, in jtzmolina in jcelica in jtotonca in jiamanca: ic teixco xonnemj.

Hvi nopiltze, totecoc tlatoanje, noxviuhtze: ca oallaueuetzqujtilo in totecujó, in tloque naoaque, ca moiocoia ca monenequj, ca moquequeloa: in quenjn connequjz, ca iuh connequjz, ca imacpalioloco techtlatlalitica, techmomjmjlvitica timjmjloa, titetelolooa avic techtlaztica, ticlavevetzqujtia, toca vetzcatica.

Tla oc cenca moiolicatzin, tla oc cenca tle ticmachitia acaço tolhvil acaço tomacecoal, in tictemjquj, in ticcochitleoa in motech qujtlalia, in motech qujnequj totecujó, in tleiotl in maviziotl, in acacaoa in

8. Ibid.: "nuestro señor dios, no a de hazer estas cosas, porque en vña mano, las a dexado."

9. The corresponding Spanish text, which is unvaryingly in the negative or vetative, probably merits quoting at length: "Mirad señor, que en los estrados, y en los tronos de los señores, y juezes, no a de auer arrebatamjēto, o precipitamiento de obras, o de palabras, nj si [sic] a de hazer alguna cosa con enojo: mjrād que nos passe por pensamjento, dezir: y yo soy señor, y yo hare lo que quisiere: que esto es ocasion de destruyr, y atropellar, y desbaratar todo vuestro valor, y toda vuestra estimacion, y grauedad, y magestad: mjrā que la dignjdad, que teneys el poder, que se os a dado sobre vuestro reyno, o señorio, no os sea ocasion de ensoberueceros, y altiueceros, mas ātes os conviene muchas vezes acordaros, de lo que fuyestes atras, y de la vaxen [sic] de donde fuerdes, tomado para la dignjdad, en que estays puesto, sin auerlo merecido; deueys muchas vezes dezir, en vuestro pensamjento, qujen fue [sic] yo? y qujen soy agora? que nunca yo mereci, ser puesto en el lugar tan honrrroso, y tan emjnente, como estoy por mandado de nuestro señor dios, que mas parece cosa de sueño, que no verdad: mjrā señor que no durmays a sueño suelto, mjrād que no os descuydeys con deleytes, y placeres corporales, mjrād que no os deys a comer, y beueres demasiados: mjrād señor que no gasteys, con profanjdad los sudores, y trabajos de vñs basallos, en engordaros, y enborracharos: mjrād señor que la merced, y regalo que nño señor, os haze en hazeros rey, y señor, no la conuertays en cosas de profanjdad, y locura, y enemjstades."

honor; that he leaveth not that which he hath cherished; perhaps it is separated from thee; perhaps he seeketh a replacement for thee.¹⁰

"Is the god perhaps suffering for friends? Is it perhaps thou alone? Perhaps it is only thou? How many are his friends? How many are his acquaintances? How many can call to him? How many can cry out to him? How many are weepers? How many are sorrowers? How many are sighers? There exist the well-born ones, the prudent, the accomplished, the honored; our lord is called to, is cried out to.

"Perhaps just for a little while thou dreamest, thou seest in dreams. Perhaps he just passeth his glory, his honor before thy face. And perhaps he just causeth thee to smell—perhaps he just passeth before thy lips—his freshness, his tenderness, his sweetness, his fragrance, his heat, his warmth, which come from him, the wealth of him by whom we live.

"May thou have peace. Do thy bowing, thy nodding of the head. Thou art to be in thy weeping, thy sorrowing. Weep, sigh, be devout for the little time, as our lord desireth it of thee. In what manner wilt thou pass, continue the night, the day, all the day? Let there be peace on the reed mat, on the reed seat. Thou art to pray for one, to caress one. Cause no one to weep, cause no one sadness, cause no one to cry out. Injure no one. Do not manifest thy fury, thy anger; do not address anyone in fury; do not frighten, do not scandalize. Again do not speak in vanity, in ridicule;¹¹ [do not] ridicule; for vain words, mockery are no longer thy office.

"Although the common folk have gladdened thee, and although thy younger brother, thy older brother have put their trust in thee, now thou art deified. Although thou art human, as are we, although thou art our friend, although thou art our son, our younger brother, our older brother, no more art thou human, as are we; we do not look to thee as human. Already thou representest, thou replacest one. Thou callest out to, thou speakest in a strange tongue to the god, the lord of the near, of the nigh. And within thee he calleth out to thee; he is within thee; he speaketh forth from thy mouth. Thou art his lips, thou art his jaw, thou art his tongue, thou art

jpan molpilitoc: aço moca tlaxeloa, aço moca tlatemo, a,

cujx mocnjuhtolinja in teutl: cujx mocel, cujx tiio: quexqujch icnjuh, quexqujch itlaiximach, quexqujch vel qujnotza, quexqujch vel qujtzatzilia, quexqujch chocanj, quexqujch tlaocuianj, quexqujch elcivinj: ca onovac in tepilhoan, in vel ixecue, in naceque: auh in oqujzque in opanvetzque, ca notzalotoc, ca tzatzililotoc in totecujó:

aço çan achica tontemjquj toncochitleoa, aço çan mjtlan conqujxtia in jticio yn jmvizio: auh aço çan mjtzonjnecujtia, aço çan motentlan conqujxtia in ijtzmolinca in jcelica, in jtzopelica in javiaca, in jtotonca in jiamanca in jtechcopa vitz in jnecujltonol ipalnemoanj.

O tle ticmacatzintli, ma oc motolol, ma oc momalcoch xoconchioa, ma oc mochoqujz, ma oc motlaocul ipan xonie, ma oc xonchoca, ma oc xonelcicivi, ma oc ie xontlateumati, in quen macujl, in quen matlac in quen mjtznequjlia in totecujó. Quen ticlaçaz, quen ticqujxtiz in ioaalli in tlatatli, in cemilhviti: manoçoc ivian in petlapan icpalpan, ma xontetlatlauhtitie, ma xontepepetlatie: ma aca ticchocti, ma aca ticlaoculti, ma aca ticatzatziti: auh ma aca ica timoquavitec: auh ma ticnexti in motlavel, in moqualan, ma aca ticlavelnotz, titlamauhtiz, titlaiçaviz: Ma no cuele taavillato, ma ticacamanalo xictli ticlaliz, ca aocmo motequjuh in ahavillatolli, in çan camanalloti:

Maço ichoa, momjtmavilti in maceoalli: auh maço mjtztlacaavilo in mjccauh, in machcauh: yn axcan ca otiteut, maço titotlacapo, maço titocnjuh, maço titopiltzin, manoço titicauh titachcauh ca aocmo titotlacapo ca amo timjztzlacaitta, ca ie titeviviti, ca titepatilloti, ca ticnotza, ca ticpopolotza in teutl in tloque, naoaque: auh ca mjtic mjtznnotza, ca mjtic, ca mocamacpa oallatoa, ca tiiten ca tiicamachal, ca tiinenepil, ca tiix ca tiinacaz, ca omjztzlama-macac, ca omjtmavizioti ca omocoatlan, ca moztli omjztlatlalili.

10. *Ibid.*: "por uztura os qujere prouar, y hazer experiencia, de qujen soys, y si no hizierdes el deuer, pondra a otro en esta dignidad..."

11. *xictli*: see *ayac xictli in tlalticpac*, in Chap. 41.

his eyes, thou art his ears. He hath given thee gifts, he hath given thee honor, he hath provided thee thy fangs, thy claws.

"Do not still enjoy thyself even as thou didst mockery there whence thou camest. Make thy heart that of an old man. And glorify, make stern thy mind, thy heart, thy way of life. Esteem thyself, glorify thyself, become stern. Make [thy heart] that of an old man, make it resemble that of an old man, cast it as that of an old man. And make holy thy utterances, thy words. Thou art distinct, venerable, strict, stern, honored, famous; and precious, esteemed, a precious person worthy of being cherished, worthy of being loved, one known as the youngest. Do not of thy own volition, personally lessen thyself, diminish thyself. Do not bring scorn upon the realm, and the rulership, the government.

"And yet grasp, heed, O my grandson, O precious person, O our lord: on earth all live, all go along a mountain peak. Over there is an abyss; over here is an abyss. Nowhere is it possible; to the left, to the right is the abyss. Do not become as a wild beast: do not completely bare thy teeth, thy claws. Do not become completely enraged; do not spread fear, become thorny, become spiny. Retract thy teeth, thy claws. Gladden, gather, unite, humor, please thy noblemen, thy rulers. And make the city happy. Arrange each one in his [proper] place; establish thy nature, thy way of life.¹²

"Agitate, attend to the *auillotl*, the drum, the gourd rattle. There warfare is motivated, recalled, cast, bored with the fire drill. Gladden, entertain the city dwellers. Thereby thou wilt gain renown, thou wilt be esteemed, when our lord hath inclined, hath softened his heart, when he hath hidden thee, and therefore the old men, the old women will weep; therefore they will sigh.

"Be blessed, O master, O ruler, O my son, O our lord, O precious person. It is as if somewhere there were a ford. Go yet testing with thy feet, for the reed mat, the reed seat, his place of honor, is not in a good place, not in a favorable place. And it is slick, slippery on earth. No one is escaping. The snare, the pit, the cords, the straw, the sharp straws lie placed one above another, joined one to another.

"Let not the exclamations have ended, O our lord! Let not thy sighing have ended. Do not find pleasure

Maca oc iuh ximotlamachti, in vmpa otioalla in ticahavillacanequj: in moiollo xicvevetlali, auh xic-tleioti, xictequaioti in mix, in moiollo in monemjliz: ximjxtili, ximotleioti ximotequaioti, xicvevetlali xic-vevequjxti xicvevetlaça: auh xicteutlali in moten in motlatol. Ach ca ie ticentlamantli, ie tixtilli, ie tima-cactli; titequanjuh, timavizio, titleio: auh titlaçotli timaviztic, titlaçotitlacatl, tipialonj, timalhvilonj, tixo-coiomachonj. Ma monevia ma mjaxcoian timopatili, timocevi, ma xictli tictlali in petlapan, in jcpalpan: auh in tecuiopan in tlatocaiopan.

Auh oc xicmocujli oc xicmocaqujti noxujuhtzine tlaçotitlacatzintle totecoc, tlachichiqujlco y nemoa in viloa tlalticpac, njpa tlanj, njpa tlanj: acampa veli in tlaopuchco, in tlaitzac centlanj. Ma ne iuhqujn tite-quanj timuchiuh: ma çan cen ticqujqujxtitlie, in motlan, in moztli: ma çan cen timopipitztie, titlacē-manaz, titlamauhtiz, tâoiao, tivitzio timuchioaz: xiccacalaquj in motlan, in moztli: xiqujmaavili, xiqujnnechico, xiqujncephano, xiqujnuçquequelo, xiqujncococonavi in mopilloan, in motlatocaioa: auh xiquellelqujxti in atl, in tepetl, xictlatlamantili yieieia xictlali in moieliz in monemjliz:

xicolinj xiciocia in avillotl, in vevetl, in aiacachtli: in vncan moiocia, in vncan molnamjquj, in vncan mopitza, momamali in teuatl in tlachinolli: xiquj-mahavili, xiqujnecelti in aoaque tepeoque? ic tonjtoloz, ic tonteneoaloz in otlacauhquj, in otlacux yiollotzin totecujio in omjtzonmotlatili: auh ic onchocaz, ic onelciciviz in veve in jlama.

Tle ticmatcatzintli tlatatle, tlatoanje nopiltzin-tzine totecoc tlaçotitlacatle: in maca çan cana pa-noaia, ma oc xonmocxiieiecotzinotih, ca amo ivian ieccan, ca amo yvian qualcan in petlapan in jcpalpan in jmavizioan: auh in tlalticpac ca tlaalaoa, ca tlapetzcavi: ca aiac onqujzca, ca moquatoc, ca nene-panjuhtoc in tzoaztli, in tlaxapuchtli in xomecatl in çacaqualli in çacamjtl:

Ma oc ontlando yn jioiave, in totecoc, ma oc ontla-mj in melciciviliz. Maca xoconvelicachioa, maca

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "y tambien te conviene señor de regocijar, y alegrar a la gente popular, segun la calidad, y condicion de la diversidad, y grados, que ay en la republica, conformato con las condiciones de cada grado, y parcialidad de la gente popular..."

in, do not take gladly to sleep. And truly, how much good will there be in woman? For she is death, she is sickness. Go tossing, go thinking, go dreaming of thy charge.¹³

"And the sustenance of our lord which hath given us bones, which hath given us flesh, strength: do not devote it to thyself only, for truly it is said, uneasy is the rulership, the government. And hence it is being said, uneasy are drink and food.¹⁴

"Thou wilt not find pleasure on the reed mat, on the reed seat. Thou wilt not be content, happy. Thou wilt only suffer torment, pain. Thou wilt do penance.

"Be blessed, O precious person, O our lord. May I not have harmed thy heart; may I not have aroused thy fury, thy anger. May I not have brought out thy claws, thy fangs. I thus only slip, falter, stumble before thee. And so before our lord, the night, the wind, I go astray, I go amiss, I jump the ridges.¹⁵ He is here; he heareth us. He heareth, he taketh the word or two, the errors I bring forth; the errors, the stuttering, the stammering; the unordered, the unsettled which I raise up, set in place, repeat.

"However, thereby the motherhood, the fatherhood is satisfied, is complied with. And furthermore, in like manner, this is all with which I pray to the master, our lord. He taketh it, he heareth it. I give it to him, I offer it to him in his presence. O master, O our lord, O ruler, perform thy office, do thy work."

This one who spoke, who thus brought forth the words, was perhaps a great priest, perhaps a Quetzalcoatl — perhaps the one called Totec Tlamacazqui or else Tlaloc [Tlamacazqui]. Perhaps it was some great nobleman, or a real ruler, or just the proxy of some great ruler. Verily he spoke in behalf of one; he spoke without timidity. Or perhaps it was some great lord, or some wise person, or a counselor, one having wisdom, who did not hesitate as he spoke, who struck nothing out, and who spoke in the manner his heart required.

And truly such was necessary, for it was said, when we replaced one, when we selected someone, when

xoconpaccachioa in cochiztli: auh in nel cucitl vipilli tle iez, quexqujch qualiztli ca mjqujztli, ca cocoliztli. ma xonmocujcujtivetztō, ma xoconmamatto, ma xocontetemjcto in motequjuh.

Auh in jcococauh totecujō, in techomjoti, in tech-nacaioti, in chicavacaiutl: ma toconmjxcavi, ca nel ic mjtoa in aivian tecujotl tlatocaiutl: auh ca ic mjto-tica in aivian atl tlaqualli:

camo tipaqujz in petlapan, in jcpalpan camo taviatz, ca amo tivellamatiz: ca çan titoneoaz, tichi-chinacaz, ca titlamaceoaz.

Tle ticmatcatzintli tlaçotitlacatle, totecocē ma njquj-tlaco in moiollotzin, ma motlaveltzin ma moqualan-tzin njqueuh: ma moztitzin, ma motlantzin itech njqujz: ca çan ixqujchtzin ic mjxpantzinco njnalao, njnotepotlamja, njnotlavitequj: auh ic ixpantzinco njtlacoloa njtlaviltequj, nitlacueiacxolhvia in tote-cujo, in ioalli in checatl: ca njcan ca, ca techmo-caqujltia, ca qujmocujlia, ca qujmocaqujtia in cen-tentli, in cencamatl, in aihucaiutl in njcqujxtia in aihucavtl in popolonj in tzatzacuj in aiieian, in aylaliloian in njqueoa, in njctlalia, in njqujtoa.

Iece ic popovi, ic ixtlavi in naiotl, in taiotl: auh iecē iuhcatzintli, iecē ixqujchtzin: ic njctlatlauhtia in tlatcatl, in totecujō: ca qujmocujlia, ca qujmoca-qujtia, ca iehoatzin njcnomaqujlia, ic ixpantzinco njtlavenchioa: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili tlatcatle, totecocē, tlatoanje.

Injn tlatoa, in juhquj qujqujxtia, in tlatolli: iehoatl in aço vei tlamacazquj, in aço quetzalcovatl, in aço iehoatl mjtoa totec tlamacazquj, anoço tlatoc: anoço aca vei pilli, anoço vel nelli tlatoanj, anoço ça aca vei tlatoanj ixiptla. Ca nel tetlatalhvia: amo momama-tin tlatoa, anoço aca vei tecutli, anoço aca tlamatinj in aço nonotzale matile: amo moquequetza in tlatoa, atle qujtzotzona: auh tlatoa in juh qujnequj ijollo:

auh ca nel iuh monequj, ca mjtoa: iquac ticcaoa, in jquac aca tiqujana, iquac mjquj, ca ic totecujō, ca

13. Ibid.: "convieneos dar buelcos en la cama, aueys de estar, en la cama pensando en las cosas de vuestro oficio, y en dormir sonado [sic] las cosas de vño cargo."

14. Ibid.: "y por esso se dize q̃ los reyes, y señores, comen pan de dolor..."

15. njtlacueiacxolhvia: the corresponding Spanish text has "yendo a saltos de rana"; see Chap. 1, n. 6. Molina, *op. cit.*, fol. 26r, Cuexcolhnia [sic], defines tlacueicxolhui as "saltar arroyo, charco, acequia o cosa semejante."

he died, he was already our lord, our executioner, and our enemy. Therefore the discourse with which he was greeted, with which he was supplicated, was most complete. And [the orator] spoke carefully when he made the greeting, [when he] said it. And he spoke with weeping.

totequacauh: auh ie toiaouh, ipampa in nelli mach ontlatlatlamj tlatolli, injc tlapalolo, injc tlatlauhtilo. Auh in çan mocxiiecotiuh tlatoa, in tlatlapaloe qujto: auh choqujztica in tlatoa.



Eleventh Chapter. Here are told the words which another dignitary said when he responded to, when he replied to the one who first prayed, in which he manifested the joy of all the ruler's common people over his being elected, and in which he manifested how they wished that he live a very long life, that he be very illustrious. However, these words are not so admirable as the ones first told.

"O master, O lord, O precious person, O ruler, O noble of lineage, O bracelet, O precious one, O precious green stone, O precious turquoise,¹ do we perhaps dream, do we perhaps see in dreams? Do we perhaps see, [do we] perceive as if crazed that which our lord now formeth over us, bringeth down upon us? Verily now, the lord of the near, of the nigh, causeth the sun to shine, causeth the dawn; a new sun emergeth, appeareth. Over us occurreth, appeareth a miracle, a feast day. Our lord produceth, considereth it a feast day.

"Now thou hast merited, thou hast deserved the city. Our lord, our lord of the near, of the nigh, hath placed thee upon the reed mat, upon the reed seat which thy progenitors, thy great-grandfathers, who have gone beyond to reside, departed leaving.

"The lord of the near, of the nigh, giveth thee as desert, giveth thee as merit the rule, the governing. Your desert, your gift, your property, your possession,² is that ye are our lords, ye are precious, ye are bracelets, ye are precious green stones, ye are precious turquoise; ye are that which is cast, ye are that which is perforated.

"Now thou liftest up, thou aggrandizest the rule, the governing. And thou exaltest the peaked cap, the turquoise diadem, the arm band, the band for the calf of the leg, the ear plug, the lip rod, the head band.

"O master, O our lord, the city resteth thirsting, resteth starving. As one lieth crying, saddened, long-

Ic matlactli oce capitulo, vncan mjttoa in tlatolli, in qujtoaia oc ce tecutlato: in qujnancujliaia, in qujcuepiliaia, in achto tlatlatlauhtiaia, ic qujnnextiaia ŷ jnpapaqujliz, in jxqujchtin imacecoalhoan tlatoanj, injc opepenaloc: ioā ic qujnnextiaia in quenjn cenca queleviaia, in ma vecauhtica nemj, in ma vel moteioti: iece injn tlatolli, amo cenca maviçauhquj, in juh achto omjto.

Tlacatle, totecoc, tlaçotitlacatle, tlatoanje tzontle, iztittle, maqujztle, tlaçotle, chalcivitile, teuxivitile: cujx titemjqij, cujx ticochitleoa, cujx nanacatl in tiqujta in ticmati: in axcan in topan qujmoicolia, in topan qujmotemovilia in totecujto. Ca axcan tona, tlathuj qujmuchivilia in tloque naoaque: oalqujça oalmomana in iancujc tonatihu: topan momana, topan muchioa in tlamaviçulli, in ilhviçulli: jlhvçuloa, ilhvitlamati in totecujto.

A ca in axcan, tehoatzin timaceoalti, tijcnopilti in atl in tepetl: mjtzmotlalilia in totecujto, in tloque, naoaque in petlapan in jcpalpan: in concauhteoaque in motechiuhcaosan, in machcocolitzioa, in ie nachca ommantivi.

A tehoatzin mjtzilhviltia, mjtzmaceoaltia in tloque, naoaque, in tecujotl in tlatocajutl: in amolhvilt, in amonemac, in amaxca, in amotlatquj in antotecujioa in antlaçoti, in anmaqujzti, in anchalchiuhti, in anteuxiuhti, in anpitzaloque, in anmamalioaque.

Ca axcan tiqujmacocujlia, tiqujnveililia in tecujotl, in tlatocajutl: auh ticvecapanoa in tetepeiotl, in xivitzolli, in matemecat, in cotzeoatl, in nacochtli, in tentetl, in tlalpilonj:

Tlacatle, totecoc: ca ichoatl in camjctoc, in qujteuciuhtoc in atl, in tepetl: ca ynan, ca jta qujnequj,

1. Cf. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson: *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," Monographs of The School of American Research, No. 14 (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1961), pp. 19-22.

2. The Nahuatl changes from singular to plural. The words, however, are directed to the ruler.

ing for his mother, for his father, so the governed desire to be ruled. Now perhaps it will be our desert, perhaps it will be our merit that perchance for a little while, for a day the city will look into thy face; that it borroweth thee. And perhaps due to, perhaps because of the errors of the city, perchance in a brief time we shall be orphaned; perhaps soon our lord will summon thee, will call out for thee. Thou wilt follow thy mother, thy father, Mictlan tecutli. Or perhaps thou wilt go there—thou wilt know the center, the midst of the desert, of the battlefield. Perhaps thou wilt provide drink, thou wilt provide food for those above us. Perhaps thou wilt follow thy mother, thy father, the sun, the lord of the earth.³ Perhaps thou wilt arrive by the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, the brave warriors who gladden, who cry out to the sun, the valiant warrior, the ascending eagle. [The sun] rejoiceth, is gladdened, is content; it taketh great pleasure in the sipping [of blood].⁴ How much doth our lord decree? May we yet trust in him.

"May thou perform thy office, may thou do thy work. Be diligent with that which is heavy, the burden, the unfrontable, the insupportable. And extend thy wings, thy tail feathers. May thy common folk, those whom thou governest, enter into thee. May they enter into thy shade, into thy shadow, for our lord hath made thee to be the great, the circular [shade], the silk cotton tree, the cypress. May the governed be rich, be prosperous."⁵

"This is the little with which I press thy hands, thy feet, entreat thy heart, thy body. Pay heed, O our lord, O ruler, O precious person: perform thy office, do thy work, help the master, our lord, and be diligent for thy city."

This one spoke standing. He removed his sandals; he placed the knot of his cape on his shoulder. And the ruler arose or squatted; he placed himself straight forward. It was said he looked nowhere; it was said the eyes were shooting straight. He sat even as

ca chocatoc, ca tlaocuxtoc, ca mopachollanj in tlat-qujtl, in tlamamalli: in axcan, aço tolhviltiz, aço tomaceoaltiz: aço achica, aço cemjlvitl mjaxco, moc-pac tlachiaz in atl, in tepetl, mjtzmotlanevitzinoz. Auh anoço ica, aço ipāpa, yn jtlatlacul in atl, in tepetl: aço çan cucl ticnopiltizque: at çan axcampa, at noço çan cucl mjtzalmonochiliz, mjtzalmotzatizliliz in totecujō, tocontocaz in monan, in mota in mjtclan tecutli: at no ce vnpa toiaz, at tontlamatiz in jxtlaoatl ijtlic: in jxtlaoatl inepantla, in teuatēpan, in tlachinoltēpan, at titeatlitz, at titetlaqualtiz in topan: at tocontocaz in monan, in mota in tonatiuh in tlaltecutli: at intech tonaciz in quauhtin, in ocelo in tiacaoan, in caviltia, in coiovia in tonatiuh, in tiacauh in quauhtleojtl, in paquj in avija, in vella-mati in motlamachtia, in tlachichina: quexquijchtzin in qujmjtalvi totecujō: ma oc tictotemachilican.

A ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtli, ma itlan ximaqujti in etic, in tlamamalli in aixcoeoaltiztli, in aixnamjqujltiztli: auh ma xicçoa in mahaz, in mocujtlapil: ma motlan mocalaquj in momaceoal in motlatquj, in motlamamal. A ma mocalaquj in moceoallotitlan, in mecauhiotitlan: ca tivei timalacajo, tipochutl, tavevetl mjtzmuchivilia in totecujō: maiecuel ma mocujltono, ma motlamachtia in tlat-qujtl in tlamamalli.

Ca ixquijchtzin ic momatzin, mocxitzin njcpachoa, njctlatlauhtia in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin: tle ticmatcatzintli totecoc tlatoanje, tlaçotitlacatle: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtli, ma xicmonānamj-qujli in tlatatl, in totecujō: auh ma itlan ximaqujti in matzin in motepetzin.

Injn tlatoa, moquetzticac qujccopina in jcac yiacolpan qujtlalia yn jnetlalpilil: auh in tlatoanj, oalmoquetza, anoço coatiez, vel motlamelaauhcatlalia, acanpa tlachia, mjtoa: vel mjxtlamjntica, mjtoa: vel

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "combidareys con vña sangre, y con vuestro cuerpo, a los dioses del cielo, y os yreys para vuestro padre, y pa vuestra madre el sol, y el dios de la tierra. . . ."

4. Ibid.: "el qual se contenta mucho, y recibe gran recreacion, en gustar la sangre, destos que como valientes la derramaron . . ."

5. Ibid.: "que todos vuestros subditos, y basallos, sean ricos, y bienaventurados. . . ."

a god. Perhaps he responded a little, or he whom [the ruler] placed at his left, whom he provided obsidian sandals, responded for him. If the ruler continued, he said:⁶

moteutlalia: aꝑo achiton ic vallananqujlilia, anoꝑo qujoallananqujlilia in aqujn copuchtia, qujtzcactia, intla oallatoqujlilia tlatoanj. qujtoa.

6. The reply makes up the bulk of the following chapter; the chapter heading is consequently intrusive, probably inserted in the final editing of the manuscript.



Twelfth Chapter. Here is told the manner in which the ruler responded to reply to his noblemen, his dignitaries in order to humble himself and in order to thank them.

"Our lord hath inclined his heart. Verily he hath mistaken me for another. Someone is sought in my place; there already was someone of the sons; for there are the noblemen, the rulers. There are those who call forth well to him, who pray well to him — the weepers, the sorrowers, the sighers. There exist, there live, his very friends, his very acquaintances. Let us yet await the word of the lord. Let us yet provide laughter for him. He will take, he will move his reed mat, his reed seat; he will place it there where there is contentment, where he is well called forth to, prayed to. Already he hath inclined his heart; for here I dream, I see in dreams. May the spirit, the words of the lord of the near, of the nigh, be fulfilled, be complied with. And may the words of those of the city be complied with. What do they see [in me]? It is as if a woman is acquired, perhaps capable of womanly skills; for I am an imbecile, and I cannot bring forth a word or two of discourse. And the truth is now that I have spent my life in excrement, in refuse.

"And perhaps in truth my lifetime is not for [the position] to which our lord inclineth his heart. Already thou hast inclined thy heart, thy body; for here I take, I grasp, the incomparable, the precious; that which is like a precious green stone, that which is like a precious turquoise; the [words of] motherhood, of fatherhood; that which cannot be given, cannot be repeated; that which is bound.¹ May I also live bound by it for a time; and may it become my inspiration, may I make it my staff, my rod. Thou hast blessed thy city. And here thou prayest to our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. May I consider myself. May I try to be worthy of the word or two thou bringest forth.

Ic matlactli omome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: injc tlananqujliaia tlatoanj, injc qujnnanqujliaia ypilloan, in jtecutlatocauoa: injc mocnomatia, ioan injc qujn-tlaçocamatia.

Otlacauhquj yiollotzin in totecuj, ca njcan motla-tlanevilia, aca noca tlatemoa: aca ie onovac in tepil-hoan, ca onoque in pipilti, in tlatoque: ca onoque in vel qujnotza, in vel qujtlatlauhtia, in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in elcicivinj: ca vnca, ca nemj in vel icnjuh, in vel itlaiximach: manoçoc tictotlatolchiali-can, auh manoçoc tictotlavevetzqujtilican in totecuj: a conmocujliz, a conmjquanjliz in jpetlatzin, in jcpaltzin: a vmpa conmotequjliz, in vmpa vellamati, in vmpa vel notzalo, tlatlauhtilo. O ye tlacauhquj in yiollotzin: ca njcan njtemjquj, njcochitleoa: ma-noço popovi, ma ixtlavi yn jhijotzin in jtlatoltzin, in iehoatl tloque naoaque: auh ma ixtlavi in jntlatol in aoaque, in tepeoaque, tlein quitta in ma yuh cioa-tioa, cujx vel malacatl, cujx vel tzotzopaztli: Ca anommati in njxco, in nocpac, auh ca avel cententli, cencamatl njcqujxtia, in jhijotl, in tlatolli: auh ca nelle axcan ca cujtlatitlan, ca tlaçultitlan nonemja:

auh at amo nelli nonemja, in vncan tlacaoa yiollotzin totecuj. O ye tlacauhquj in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin: ca njcan njcana, njcan njccuj in anemjuhquj in tlaçotli in chalchiuhtic, in teuxiuhtic: in naiotl in taiotl in atemaconj, in ateilhvilonj in nelpilli: manoço ic no njlpitinemjz in macujl, in matlac, auh ma noneellaquauh muchioaz, notopil, nonetlaquechil njcchioaz: oticmocnelili in matzin, in motepetzin: auh ca njcan ticmotlatlauhtilia in totecuj in tloque, naoaque: ma çan ne njnotta, ma njcnolviltoca in cententli, in cencamatl yn ticmo-qujxtilia.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "que son consejos de padres, y madres, que muy pocas vezes se suelen dezir, dignas de ser muy guardadas..."

"And thou prayest for those who went guarding for you, those who went performing their office, their work, on the reed mat, on the reed seat — the lords, the rulers who have already gone beyond to reside, those who came to dispose, to order well for our lord, on the reed mat, on the reed seat. Peace be with thee. Be seated; rest thy hands, thy feet."

[The orator] replied; he said to him: "O our lord, O precious person, thou wilt be pained. I shall molest thee. I cause thee to sweat; I trouble thee; I cause thee headaches, stomach pains. May our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, rest thee in peace. And in what possible manner will he determine in a short time?"

"Perform thy office; do thy work; for already those above us and in the land of the dead rest watching, and already in all the world all remain looking.² First of all, may our lord make known if perhaps thou mayest continue the city. Take heed, O our lord, O ruler, O my son! May we yet place our faith in Teyocoyani, Teimatini, Techichiuani. Take heed, O master, O our lord, O ruler. Perform thy office; do thy work."

And if only he responded whom the ruler placed at his left, provided obsidian sandals, he said:³

Auh ca ichoantin tiqujnmotlatlauhtilia in amechmotlapialilitivi, in tlacotitivi, in tequjttiuj, in petlapan, in icpalpan, in tetcutin, in tlatoque: in ie nachcanmantivi, yn ovel qujmotlatlatlilico, yn ovel qujmotlatetequjlilico totecuj, in petlapan yn jcpalpan. Tle ticmatcatzintli, ma tlaltech ximaxiti, ma ximovetziti: ma ximocevili in momatzin, in moxitzin.

Connanqujlia, qujlvia. Totecoe, tlaçotitlacatle; timococotzinoz njmjtznolaxiliz, njmjtznjtonjlia, njmjtznamanjlia: motzontecotzin, melchiqujuh-tzin noconeoa. Ma mjtzmotlamatcatlalili in totecuj, in tloque, naoaque: auh anca quen macujlmatlac qujmonequjlitz:

ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili: ca ie oalitztotoc in topan, auh in mjctlan, auh in cemanaoac: ca ie oallachialotoc. Ma oc ie ie qujmomachitia in totecuj, cujx vel achitzin ticmotociliz in atl, in tepetl: ma oc titlatemachican totecoc, tlatoanje, nopiltzintzine: ma oc tictotemachilican in teicoianj, in tehimatinj, in techichioanj. Tle ticmomachitica-tzintli, tlatcatle totecoc, tlatoanje: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili.

Auh intla çan qujtlananqujlilia yn aqujn copochtia, qujtzcactia in tlatoanj. qujtoa.

2. *Ibid.*: "aca en el mundo, os miran todos vros vasallos, y tienen puestos sus ojos en vos."

3. See Chap. 11, n. 6.



Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the words with which still another person prayed, with which he replied, when the ruler did not speak. The one who said them was perhaps some great nobleman, or a dignitary, or a kinsman of the ruler, one who had mastered well the words, one who was very wise. Here many courtly utterances are related.

"Be welcomed, for here thou hast brought forth a word or two, the incomparable [words] which your progenitors, those who have gone on to remain beyond, who went having treasured, who went having cherished the motherhood, the fatherhood, the precious, that which was like a precious green stone, like a precious turquoise, like a bracelet.

"Here thou hast given them to the master, the lord, N., the youngest son; to the spine, the thorn, the relic of the lords, the rulers who have gone on to remain beyond. And thou hast prayed to him, encouraged him, animated him. It is as if thou hadst stuffed someone with earth, with straw.

"Our lord [the ruler] can nowhere lose [what thou hast said]. But perhaps our lord [the god] will put him in the smoke, in the mist.¹ The poor one — perhaps he will continue the city for a while. And as for the realm, perhaps for a time, for a day, he will have it as a loan; he will see it in dreams; he will dream of it.

"Now verily, in truth, the rulership is not a peaceful place, a good place, for things slip, things slide. And there remain piled up words of stone, words which are clubs. Those of the city remain grumbling, howling. His cities which remain about, remain menacing.²

"And this which thou hast brought forth, the incomparable, the precious — that which can be taken, guarded, remembered: the spirit, the word — perhaps he will cast it away, perhaps destroy it, per-

Ic matlactli omey capitulo, vncan mjtoa in tlatolli: injc tlatlatlauhtiaia, injc tlacuepaia in oc çe tlatatl: in jquac amo tlatoaia tlatoanj: ichoatl qujtoaia in aço aca vey pilli anoço tecutlato: anoço yoaniulquj in tlatoanj, in vel qujmatia tlatolli, in vel mjmatinj catca: mjec in vncan moteneoa tecpilatolli.

Tle ticmomachiltia, a ca njcan ticmoqujxtilia, in cententli, in cencamatl in anemjuhquj in a cacauchtivi, in jpan molpilitivi in amotechiuhcaoa: in ie nachca onmantuij in naiutl, in taiutl, in tlaçotic, in chalchiuhtic in teuxiuhtic, in maqujztic.

A ca njcan ticmomaqujlia in tlatatl in tlatatecutli yn N. in xocoiotl: in jnvitzio, in jmavaio in jnnecauhca in tatecutin, in tlatoque in ie nachca onmantivi: auh ca ticmotlatlauhtilia, aco ticmolpilia, aco ticmotetzjlhvua: a manoce iuhquj, aquj tlatzintli, aquj çacatzintli ipan ticmotemjlia.

A ca acan, vel qujpoloa in totecujo: anoço ie vncan jn, poctlan, yiaiauhatlan qujmuchiviliz in totecujo: motolinjatzintli, aço vel achi qujtoctiz in atl, in tepetl: auh yn petlatl, in jcpalli: aço achica cemjvitl qujtlaneviz, qujcochitleoaz, qujtemjqujz.

A ca nelle axcan, ca amo yvian ieccan in petlapan, yn jcpalpan: ca tlaalaoa, ca tlapetzçavi: auh ca vncan nepanjuhtoc in tlatoltetl, in tlatolquavitl: a ca popolocatoc, ca oiuhoc in aoa, in tepeoa: ca yjauh ca yteuh ietoc, ca tlaacoleuhtoc.

Auh ynjn, in ticmoqujxtilia in anemjuhquj in tlaçotli, in cujvanj, in pialoni, in neiollotilonj in jhijotl, in tlatolli: aço cana conlaçaz, aço conpoloz, aço conjlcaoz: auh manoço ic onjlpitinemj, ma ipatuih

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "y le ponga entre las neblas, y tinieblas, de la muerte..."

2. Read: *ca y jauh ca ytepeuh*. The corresponding Spanish text is thus: "por raxon de las palabras duras, de los embidiosos, y de las saetas, o dardos de palabras, que arrojan los ambiciosos, que son asi como bramjós, que vienen de los pueblos, y reynos circunstantes, donde estan muchos amenaçando, y amagando con piedras, y dardos de palabras soberujas, y imbidiosas."

haps forget it. But may he go bound to it; may it become his aid when he hath been placed there in the *patolli* game, in the ball game; for the glove, the leather hip-guard, the girdle have been placed on; for yet he is to contend with others in the *patolli* game, in the ball game; he is yet to play the ball game with others; he is yet to play *patolli*.³

"And so in what manner, in truth, doth our lord determine? Perhaps it is his desert, his merit, that our lord only passeth his glory, his honor before his face. Perhaps we dream, perhaps we see in dreams. Perhaps in a few days the lord of the near, of the nigh, will grow angry, will be demanding — will take to himself, will remove his honor, his glory, his realm; will banish him to the excrement, the refuse. And that which is truly the lot of us who are commoners will fall: paralysis, blindness. Soon thereafter he will hide him, will place him underfoot, will send him to our common home. For verily, for this, nothing is the desert, nothing is the merit.⁴

"Blessed is the acquaintance of our lord who in peace, in tranquility dieth, perisheth, in his realm, in his place of honor.⁵ Blessed is he who in peace, in tranquility, prayeth to, ordereth the affairs of our lord. Blessed is he who raiseth up the heads, provideth glory, provideth renown to his mothers, his fathers, his grandfathers, his grandmothers, his great-grandfathers who caused the nobility, the rulership to sprout, to blossom; in whose time the realm prospered, grew in dignity. And blessed are those who are told of, who are named.⁶

"And this one, will he in truth abdicate? Will he perhaps conceal himself? Will he perhaps hide? Will he perhaps go somewhere? Will he verily perhaps not respect, not comply with the spirit, the word of the lord of the near, of the nigh? Of the city? What doth he know of our lord? Is he prudent? Is he able? Is he wise? And is he perhaps accomplished in words? Perhaps not. Perhaps yet

muchiuhtica, in vncan oonquetzaloc in patolco, in tlachco: ca oontlatlilililloc in maichoatl in queccoatl, in nelpilonj: ca oc ichoatl ontenamjqujz in patolco, in tlachco: oc ichoatl ontecollamjz, oc ichoatl onpatoz.

Auh anca quen nelli, qujmonequjlilia in totecujo: cujx ilvil, cujx imaceoal, aço çan yxtlan conmoqujxtilia in totecujo, in jtleio, yn jmvizio: aço titemjquj, aço ticochitleoa: at moztlatiz, viptlatiz moçomaz monenequjz, in ichoatzin tloque naoaque: conmoçujliz, conmjquanjliz in jmvizio, in jtleio: in jpetl, in jcpal conmjoaliz in cujtlatlitan, in tlaçultitlan. Auh valvetziz in vel totequjuh in timaceoalti in cocotztli, in jxpopoiotl: noce njman ie çan cuel conmotlatiliz, conmocxipachilviz, conmjoaliz in tocenchan: ca nel ic atle ilvilli, ca nel ic atle maceoalli.

Quemmach amj in jtlaximach in totecujo, in jvian, in iocuxca conmopolhvia, conmotlatilia in jpetlapan, in jcpalpan in jmviziocan: quenmach amj, in jvian iocuxca: qujmotlatlauhtilia, qujmotlatetequjlilia in totecujo: quēmach amj in qujntzonteconacocuj, in qujnteciotia, in qujmjtauhtia in jnaoan, yn jtaoan, in jculhoan in jcioan in jachtoa: in qujxotlaltia, in qujcueponaltia in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiutl: in jpan veia, in jpan vecapanjvi in petlatl, in icpalli: auh quenmach amj in itolo, in teneoalo.

Auh ynjn, a mach nel oc tzinqujçaz: cujx motlatiz, cujx mjnaiaz, cujx canapa oniaz: cujx nel apoviz, cujx nel aixtlaviz in ihijo, in jtlatlol in tloque, naoaque, auh in atl, in tepetl: tlein qujmottilia totecujo, cujx mjmati, cujx ommati ynjn, in jcpac: cujx vel ixtli, cujx vel nacaztli: auh cujx vel cententli cencamatl: acaçomo, aço oc aca ixpan in muztla viptla motlavitequjz. Anca quen qujmonequjltiz in

3. Ibid.: "porque el negocio del regir, es bien semejante al juego de la pelota, y al juego de los dados."

4. Ibid.: "embiandole a lugar dōde auemos de yr todos: y de aquí entenderemos, que no tiene Dios determinjado, que este en honrra, nj en dignjdad."

5. Ibid.: "Bienaventurados los amigos, y conocidos de Dios, que pacificamente, y con asoniego y despues de muchos dias, mueren en sus señorios, en sus reynos." Our rendition follows the sense of the Spanish text while departing somewhat from the grammatical requirements of the Nahuatl.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "bienaventurados aquellos, que son gloria, y fama de sus antepasados, padres, y madres, y abuelos y tarabuelos: en los quales floresco, el señorio, y reyno, y aumentaron, y ensalzaron sus reynos, y señorios: bienaventurados aquellos, que dexaron esta fama a sus successores."

in the presence of someone, tomorrow, the next day, he will falter. How then, will our lord desire? Let us yet await his word. Let us yet place our faith in him.

"Thou hast inclined thy heart, thou hast been good to him, for a little, a word came forth to strengthen him, to encourage him, to animate him. Find repose. Rest thy body, thy feet."

totecujo: ma oc tictotlatolchialican, ma oc tictotemachilican:

Otlacauhquj in moiollotzin, oticmocnelili: ca oqujz in achitzin, in cententzin injc ticmochicavilia, injc aco ticmolphilia, ticmotetzilvia: ma tlaltech ximovetziti, ma xicmocevili in monacaiotzin in mocxitzin.



Fourteenth Chapter. Here is told a long discourse with which the ruler admonished all the inhabitants of the city when he spoke for the first time. Thus he said: no one is to become drunk; no one is to steal; no one is to commit adultery; and other things. And he urged the service of their gods, and importuned the exploits, the warfare, called *teuatl tlachinolli*,¹ and the working of the land, and many other things.

"Here ye have settled yourselves; here the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath seated you. Here he hath assembled you, joined you, ye who are the rulers of the cities. Here thou art present, thou who art mother, thou who art father [of the people]. And here art thou who enterest among others, thou who art of goodly parents, thou who art of noble birth. And here thou art settled, here thou art present, thou who art the eagle warrior, the ocelot warrior. And here art thou who art a woman. May our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, give you peace. Here, with a word or two, I greet you, I encourage you; with a word I entreat you.

"Verily, now, [our lord] mistaketh me for another. He seeketh a replacement in my stead. For a while, for a day, I shall guard for you. I shall bring about ruin, folly to your city. And I shall bring about offence to our lord.²

"But it hath already come to pass. Oh, miserable am I. And I alone have offended our lord,³ and I alone have offended our predecessors, the lords, the rulers, those who have gone beyond to reside, those in whose hands came resting, in whose hands was the wide mirror; those who have set before the people the thick, smokeless torch. And they are the prudent, the wise, the strong of heart whom [our lord] hath sent. Our lord inserted not within them, placed not

le matlactli onnavi capitulo. vncā mjtoa: centlamantli, veiac tlatolli: injc tenonotzaia tlatoanj, injc qujcennonotzaia, in jxqujchtin aoaque tepeoaque: in jquac iancuican tlatoaja, iuh qujtoaia, in ajac tlaoanaz, aiaic ichtequjz, aiaic tepan iaz, ioan oc cequj. Ioan qujtecuajtla viltiaia, in jntlaiecoltiloca teteu: ioan qujtetlaquammacaia, in oqujchiotl, in iaoiotl: in mjtoa, teuatl tlachinolli, ioan in tlalchioaliztli: ioan oc cequj mjec tlamantli.

Ca njcan anmonoltitoque: ca njcan amechalmotlailia, in tloque, naoaque: njcan amechmocentlailia, amechmonechicalvia: in amaoaque, in antepeoaque. A ca njcan tica, in tinantli, in titatli: auh njcan tetzalan tactica, in tepal timotlacatili, in tetehcopa tiqujz: auh njcan tonoc, njcā tica in tiqauhtli, in tocelotl: aviz ie tehoatl, in ticueitl, in tivipilli: manoço amechmotlamatecatlaili, in totecujio in tloque, naoaque ca njcan cententica, cencamatica, namechtlapaloo, namechciauhpoa cententica, namechtlatlauhtia.

A nelle axcan, nehoatl nechmotlanevilia, nehoatl noca tlatemoa: nehoatl achica, cemjhlviti namechon-tlapializ: nehoatl tlaxoxopeoaliztli, chocholocaiuti, noconnochivililiz in amauh, in amotepeuh: auh nehoatl tlateupoaliztli, noconnochivililiz in totecujio.

Auh oic muchiuh, onotlaveliltic, ocel njcnoteupovili in totecujio: auh oic muchiuh, onotlaveliltic, ocel njcnoteupovili in totecujio: auh ocel njqujnteupouh, in totechihuaaoan: in teteccutin, in tlatoque: in ie nachca onmantivi, in coiavac tezcatl inmac onmanjco, in jnmac oicaca: in oqujtequechilique, in tomaoac ocutl in apocio: auh in vel ixtli, in vel nacaztli, in vel iollotli, oqujtitanjco: in amo pilixtli, in amo piliollotli in jmjtic qujmaqujli, in jmjtic, qujmotla-

1. *teuatl, tlachinolli*. See Chap. 3, n. 3. Besides "divine sea, ocean," *teuatl* means the offering of blood; cf. Garibay, *Historia*, II, p. 407, on *teuatl*: "Luz, agua divina. Es el nombre de la sangre vertida, sea en la guerra, sea en el sacrificio. Con ella se nutre el Sol y se alimenta la Tierra." Both *teuatl, tlachinolli* and *atl tlachinolli* metaphorically signify warfare; Molina, *op. cit.*, fols. 8v, 117v (*tlachinolli teuatl*) gives *batalla* or *guerra* for both.

2. For an understanding of this negative manner of self-appraisal, see Pipillo, *coconeio*, Chap. 43.

3. This opening section is repeated in the Nahuatl text.

within them the eyes of a child, the heart of a child. He provided them well with fangs, he provided them well with claws. And the different things he granted were not just by mistake, for in truth they were his real friends, his real acquaintances.

"And here I shall offend those who founded, who commenced things; those who are our great-grandfathers, our progenitors; those who came clearing the way, who came clearing the trees, who came clearing the stones, so that they established the realm. Here they went awaiting the word of our lord.

"What can I do, I who am untrained, I who am inexperienced, I who am ignorant? Our lord mistaketh me for another. Perhaps for a while, for a day, I shall dream, I shall see in dreams.⁴ Perhaps for a while I shall be able to support the bundle, the carrying frame of our great-grandfathers, our progenitors, which they departed leaving, the intolerable, the insufferable, and that which is the cause of affliction.

"Now I supplicate you, I greet you, I animate you. Especially, I entreat you, leave the jimson weed alone, the undrinkable, the inedible, that which hath made one besotted, that which hath deranged one. The old men, the old women went fearing it, rejecting it; they went regarding it as revolting. And because of it the lords went hanging one, went stoning one; the rulers went making use of the rope on one.

"What is called *octli*⁵ is the origin, the root of the evil, of the bad, of perdition. In no way, in no place doth it cause development of the earth, and in no way can the earth endure,⁶ for everything relateth to it; for it beareth everything. It is like a whirlwind, like a severe wind, for it cometh rolling together the bad, the evil. Behold: one [desireth] another's woman; one committeth adultery; one coveteth, one stealeth, one pilfereth; one becometh a snatcher.⁷ Behold: it is one who curseth, who murmureth, who belloweth, who rumbleth⁸ when he becometh drunk. [Because of] the pulque he braggeth falsely of his noble lineage; he thinketh himself superior; he vaunteth himself; he esteemeth himself; he is grandiose; he regardeth no one with much consideration;

lili, in totecujō: in vel qujntlantī, in vel qujmjztiti: auh in vel qujnmotlamamaqujli, in amo çan tlatlanvilti: in ie nelli vel icnjōa, in vel itlaiximachōan:

auh ichoantin, njcan njqujntlatecupoviliz, in aqujque in tlatzintileque, in tlapeoaltileque: in aqujque in tachcocoltzitzinoā, in totechiuhcaōan yn ochpanaco, in tlatzonjlpico in tlatepachoco: injc contetecatiaque in petlatl, in jcpalli: in vncan qujtlatlōchixtivi, in totecujō.

Quen vel çonehoatl, in anjnozcalia, in anjtlachia: in anommati in njxco, in nocpac, in nechmotlanevilia totecujō: aço achica, aço cemjlhvilt njtemjqujz, njcochitleoaz: aço achi vel njctōctiz, in jnqujmjl, in jncacax, in conquetzteoaque in tachcocolvan, in totechiuhcaōan, in aicoaliztli, in aiecoliztli: auh in ateatlamachti.

Ca axcanpa, namechtlatlauhtia, namechtlapaloa, namechellaquava. Oc cenca ic namechtlatlauhtia, manoçoc onjuhtia, in mxjxltl, in tlapatl, in aioanj, yn aqualonj, in teivinti, in teyxmalacacho: in qujmacztivi, in aconnectivi in vevetque, ilamatque, in qujtlacelitzivi: auh injc momecanjtivi, in tetcutin: injc motetzotzontivi, injc mecatl qujteiecultitivi, in tlatōque:

in mjtoā, Octli: ca ytzin, ca yneloāio: in aqualli in aiectli, in polioanj: ca amo ic, ca amo can tlamanjztli, qujchioa: auh ca amo ic vel man jn tlalli, ca ixqujch itech ca, ca ixqujch qujtquj: in maca çan hecamalacotl, in maca çan hecatepuztli, ca qujcemolotovitiz in aiectli, in aqualli. Izca in tecue, in tepipil: in tepan cana, in quelevia: in tecomjc in tecaxic maiavi, in tetopco, in tepetlacalco in nemj, in maçolti: izca in atlacaqujça, in jten, in jtlatol: in chichicotlatoa, in ooiova, in tlacaoatza, in jvintiz qujmana, mohoqujchitoa in octli, moichoatoca, mochamaoa, moveilia, movecapanoa: aiāc tle ipan qujtta, aiāc compoa, aiāc qujieoatilia: teixco teicpac nemj:

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "por ventura pasara sobre mi como sueño, en breve se acabara mi vida..."

5. *Octli*: the fermented sap of the maguay. Following Sahagún's general practise, we have usually translated the term as wine. The Spanish text uses the terms *vino*, *octli*, and *pulcre* or *pulchre*.

6. Read *mani* in *tlalli*.

7. *maçolti*: cf. Chap. 41.

8. *tlacaoatza*: read *tlapaoatza*.

he valueth no one, praiseth no one; he is disrespectful.

"They say also that to no purpose is the drunkard; no longer doth he know what he sayeth, what he divulgeth. Nothing tranquil, nothing peaceful cometh from his mouth. The pulque completely harmeth, completely ruineth humanity, the character of things; [so] the old men went saying. The pulque maketh a glutton of one; it is bad, evil, undrinkable, inedible.

"How can it be said? Who can it have been who said it? Who can it have been who referred to pulque as jimson weed? And who can it have been who referred to the drunkard as the one who giveth himself to jimson weed? He is never anywhere obedient in his being, in his life. He deceiveth constantly, he lieth constantly; he is two-faced, of forked tongue;⁹ he goeth constantly spreading calumny.¹⁰

"And this being so, can the drunkard possibly live in peace? Can he possibly live in contentment? Can he possibly go benefiting himself?¹¹ The pulque maketh one weep; it saddeneth one; it causeth one to cry out. He introduceth castigation into another's home; he goeth removing from the olla, from the bowl. There is no [safe] storage for things! He is no longer capable.¹² The wind swirls within the home of the drunkard; misery penetrateth it. He possesseth no ollas, no bowls. He cometh not upon that which to hang from his hips, from his neck. And as to his place of reclining, there is nothing to throw over him. And his children are stained with excrement and are thin; few are their rags, their old maguey capes; little is on their necks. Furthermore, the drunkard loseth all through neglect. He concerneth himself only with what his entrails will require. All is impossible.

"For this reason the lords, the rulers who acted for the realm, who gave forth the word of our lord, go stoning people on account of pulque; they go hanging people because of it.

"I speak, I cry out especially to you, ye who are lords, and ye who are our uncles, ye who are noble-men, ye who are the sons of rulers, that ye leave

mach nen noço tlaoanqui aoc qujmati, in qujtoa, in qujteneoa: aoc tle cemelle, aoc tle tlacacemelle in jcamacpa qujça in octli vel qujtlacoa, vel qujçolao in tlacaiotl, in ieliziotl: qujtotivi in vevetque. Vel tetla-
caçoçoltli in octli, aiectli, aqualli, aioanj, aqualonj:

can mach mjto, ac mach qujto, ac mach qujtocaioti, in mxjxltl, in tlapatl in octli: auh ac mach qujtocaioti in tlaoanquj, in aqujn qujmotequjtia in mxjxltl, in tlapatl: ca çan njman aocan tetlacama in jieliz, in jnemjliz: tlatlapiquj, yhiztlacati, necuctene, nenepil-maxaltic: chiqujmoli, maqujzcoatl muchiuhtinemj.

Auh ma ça ivi, aço tlacaco nem jn tlaoanquj, aço pactinemj, aço vel conmoqualtitiuh: techocti, tetla-
oculti, vel tetzatziti in octli: ca atl cecec, qujcalaquja in techan, comjc caxic ontlatxiltiuh, aitalililoia in tlein-
tzin, aocmo veiti, ehecattl motetevilacachoa in jchan, in jcalitic tlaoanquj: icnoiotl qujqujztoc âcome, âcaxe: aommonamjquj, in jquezpan, in jquechtlan pilcac: auh in jvetzian, atle in jpan qujoallaçaz: auh yn jpilhoan tlacujtlaticeo, auh tlacicicujlivi: achchi in jntzotzoma, in jmaiaçul, acchi in jnquechtlanca ca: mach noço tlaoanquj, much ixqujch qujtlatzih-
caoa: manel noço: yio conjxcavi, in jcujtlaxcol itech onmonequjz: muchi in aveli.

Ic ipampa in tetcutin, in tlatoque: yn oieco in petlapan, in jcpalpan, in ovel qujmotlatenqujxtililia totecujo: ic tetetzotzontivi in octli, ic temecanjtivi.

Oc cenca amehoan namechnotza, namechtzatzilia in antecpipiltotonti: auh in antotlatzitzioan in anpi-piltin, in antlatocapiltin: in anociuhtia, in mxjxltl,

9. *nenepilmaxaltic*: cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hombre de dos caras, y de dos lenguas, es como culebra de dos cabeças que muerde, por una parte y por otra.*" See also *maquizcoatl*, Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, "Earthly Things," p. 79.

11. The corresponding Spanish text differs somewhat: "*No solamente estos males ya dichos, proceden de la borracheria, que otros muchos tiene: que el borracho, nunca tiene asosiego, nj paz nj jamas, esta alegre, nj come, nj beue con asosiego, nj em paz, nj en quietud.*"

12. Read *ueliti*.

As the seed is sown, doth it not likewise sprout?"¹⁵

"Or it will be said: 'He alone hath become unfortunate; he alone offended the old men, the old women, such as those from whom he descended, the great ones who went causing fear. Now he dishonoreth them; he ignoreth their ways.'¹⁶

"Or it will be said: 'Hath he perhaps performed the role of a commoner? And although thou art of the palace, art thou therefore to be revered, even though thou art a nobleman, even though thou art of great nobility? Certainly not.'

"Witness the Tlacatecatl of Quauhtitlan, a nobleman named Tlachinoltzin. He was a great nobleman; he was served; he was master of the common folk. But pulque debased him. He concerned himself exclusively with it; he indulged excessively; he lived in continuous drunkenness. He drank up all his land; he sold it all. And when he had come to the end, he went on — he began with his house; on the morrow he would drink up [the value of] the wood or the stones.¹⁷ In this wise would he buy pulque. When he had come to the end [of his possessions], when there was nothing more salable, then his woman spun [and] wove for others in order to buy pulque.

"This Tlacatecatl, a valiant warrior, a great warrior, and a great nobleman, sometimes, somewhere on the road where there was travel, lay fallen, drunk, wallowing in ordure.

"And this one, was he perchance respected because of it? Although a great nobleman, and although a great eagle warrior, although a great ocelot warrior, although a valiant warrior, although called one of nobility, was he not therefore punished? For he was not therefore respected.

"The master, the younger, the Tlacatecutli Moteçuoma Iluicamina, who was in residence in the midst of the lake, received notice of it, heard of it; it reached him. And to put a stop to it his word came forth. He charged it, he left it to the master, the ruler of Quauhtitlan, the Tlacatecutli Aztatzon, even though he was the younger brother [of Tlachinoltzin]. Even though [the latter] was something, a Tlacatecatl, our lords paid no heed, for he was hanged; the rope put an end to the Tlacatecatl. And all this because he lived continually drunk.

anocé ytoloz. Ocel itlaveliltic, ocel qujnmoteupovili, in vetetque, in jlamatque: iuhque on, in jatehcopa qujz, vevetintin, temamahtique ictivi: in axcan inquatla qujmana, in jxachi, intzoncal qujntlalilia:

auh anocé onjtolo, Ach ca itequjmaceoallo maitia: auh in maço titecpiltontli, cujx ic tonjxittoz, in manel titlaçopilli, in manel cenca tetehcopa tiqjz: acaçomo.

Tla xoconjtta, in quauhtitlan tlacatecatl, pilli, in jtoca tlachinoltzin, ca vei pilli, ca tlaieculitloia, ca maceoale catca: auh ca ichoatl contemovi, in octli: ca qujxcaviaia, in tlatlapeviaia, in tlatlaoantinenca: muchi qujtlaon in jtlat, muchi qujnamacac. Auh in otlatlatlan, itech mopilo, qujpeoalti in jcal: in muztla aço quavitl, aço tetl in qujtlaonaz, ynic moccoviz. In otlatlatlan, in aoc tle namaconj: njman ie tetzavilia, in jcivauh ie teiqujtilia: injc moccovia.

In ichoatl tlacatecatl, in tiacauh, in vei oqujchtli, auh in vei pilli: in quenman cana vtlica, in jpan qujxoa, in vetztoc, in oyvintic cujtlanexpol mantinemj.

Auh ynjn, cujx ic ixittoc: in maço vei pilli, auh in maço vei quauhtli, in maço vei ocelutl, in maço tiacauh: in maço mjtoa, centetzontli: ca amo ma ic tlaiolitlaco, ca amo ic ixittoc.

Ca qujmocujli, qujmocaqujti, itech acic: in atl itic monoltitoc, in tlatcatl in xocoiutl, in tlacatecutli, in jlvicamjna, in motecuçoma: auh ca conmotlacotonjili, ca qujz yn itētzin, in jtlatoltzin: ca contequjuhti, ca itech concauh in tlatcatl, tlatoanj in quauhtitlan in tlacatecutli in aztatzon: macivi in çan itiachcauh, macivi in çan itla catca, in tlacatecatl: ca amo mjxittaque in totecujiooan, ca onmecanjloc, ca mecatl conieco in tlacatecatl: in ça ie ixqujch, in çã ie ijçipampa in motlatlaoantinenca.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "a este vellaco dexaron su padre, y su madre, mal castigado, mal disciplinado, mal criado: los quales llamauan. N. y bien los parece en las costumbres, como lo que se sembro nace, semejante a la semilla. . ."

16. inquatla qujmana, in jxachi, intzoncal qujntlalilia: cf. Chap. 43.

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "comēço a beuer el precio de las piedras, y maderos de su casa. . ."

"How many nobles, rulers, merchants hath the pulque imprisoned? And how many vassals have incurred punishment for it? How many could be named? How many could be mentioned?"

"And now, O eagle warrior, O ocelot warrior, is pulque, is jimson weed perhaps a requirement? Is it perhaps a necessity of life?"

"For I shall take thee, I shall seize thee. Thou wilt be taken, thou wilt be captured, thou wilt be seized. There are the executives of the realm, the judges of the city. They will spread fear of thee; they will bring about castigation of thee. Perhaps thou wilt be hanged, perhaps thou wilt lie cast on the road, perhaps thou wilt be stoned. There will be fear of thee; thou wilt be dragged."

"When this cometh to pass, what can I do for thee? For thou hast fallen into the claws, thou hast entered the mouth of a wild beast; thou hast stirred up justice. When this cometh to pass, what can I yet do for thee? Wilt thou not suffer?"¹⁸

"Perhaps in vain thou wilt look to me. How shall I act for thee? For already thou art in the mouth of the wild beast. Perhaps thou art of our friends; perhaps thou art my younger brother, an older brother. Our lord hath broken us apart, hath divided us. I shall contend against thee, I shall fight against thee. I shall seize thee from the water, from the cave.¹⁹ Look! Is perhaps the pulque a requirement? And the vice, the filth? Is stealing a means of livelihood?"

"May ye know, may ye desire the desert, the battlefield where live, where are born the mother, the father of the sun, the Tlacteacatl, the Tlacochealcatl who provide drink, who give offerings to the sun, to Tlaltecuctli.²⁰ And one's desert, his merit is the shield, the device, the ear plug, the lip plug, the lip pendant, the head band, and the wrist band, the band for the calf of the leg. And he findeth all, meriteth all — the precious necklace, the precious feather. And everything is his desert, his merit, everything his gift. He gaineth all — the heat, the warmth of our lord of the near, of the nigh. He deserveth all that is fresh, fragrant: the tenderness, the freshness of our

Quexquich qujtzacutia in octli in pipilti, in tlatoque, in puchteca: auh quexquich ipan tlanamjc in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, quexquich mjttoani, quexquich moteneoanj.

Auh in axcan, quauhtle, ocelote: cujx tequjtl in octli, in mjtixtl, in tlapatl: cujx nemoalonz.

Ca njmjtzonanaz, ca njmjtzontzitzqujz: ca tonanoz, ca toncujtivechoz, ca tontzitzqujloz: ca oncate in jtequacaoan in petlatl, in jcpalli: in jtecutlatocaoan, in atl, in tepetl: ca moca maviztli contlaçazque, ca moca conqujxtizque in atl, cecec, in tzitzicaztli: at mecatl toconiecoz, at vtlica tonvetztoz, at titetepacholoz: moca nemamauhtilo, tivivilanoz.

Quen nel njmjtznovichiliz in jquac, yn: ca oymac tivet, ca oicamac ticalac in tequan, ca oticolinj in jzti, in jtan: quen nel oc njmjtznovichiliz in jquac, yn, cujx atoconmjhioviltiz:

aço nen novic tioallachiaz, quen njmjtzhioaz, ca ie tequan icamac: aço oiehoa in titocnjoan, aço oieoa yn tinjcauh, in tachcauh: ca otechoalapaioti in totecujo, ca otechoalxelo: ca oc njmjtzonnamjqujz, njmjtzonnecalitiz: oc njmjtzonanaz in atlan, in oztoc. Vi ach cujx tequjtl in octli: auh in teuhitli, in tlaçulli: cujx nemovalonz in tetopco, in tepetlacalco maiaviliztli:

ma ie xontlamatican, ma ie xontlaelevecan in jxtla-oacan, in teutenpan, in tlachinoltenpa: in vncan ioli, in vncan tlacati in tonatiuh inan, in tonatiuh yta in tlacteacatl, in tlacochealcatl, in catlitia, in qujtla-maca in tonatiuh, in tlaltecutli: auh yn ijlvil in jma-ceoal in chimalli, in tlaviztli, in nacohtli, in tentetl, in tençacatl, in tlalpilonj: auh in matemecat in cotzeoatl: auh in jxqujch qujtta, in jxqujch qujma-ceoa in cozcacatl in quetzalli: auh in muchi ijlhvil imaceoal, in muchi ynemac, in muchi caci yn jtotonca in jiamanca in tloque, naoaque: in muchi ijlvilti in celic, in aviac, yn jtmolinca, in jcelica totecuj, in jcenvic muchioa in xuchitl, in ietl, in atl in tlaqualli,

18. Ibid.: "Quando esto te aconteciera, no te podre yo valer de la muerte, o del castigo, porque tu mismo por tu culpa, cayste, y te arrojaite, en las manos de los vedugos [sic], y de los matadores, y prouocaste la iusticia contra ti: aviendo tu hecho esto, como te podre yo librar...."

19. Ibid.: "y te sacare: aunque estes debaxo de la tierra, o debaxo del agua, ascondido."

20. Ibid.: "Lo que aveys de desear, y buscar, son los lugares para la guerra señalados [sic] que se llaman teutenpan tlachinoltepan: donde andan, y viuen, y nacen los padres, y madres del sol, que se llaman tlacteacatl, tlacochealcatl, que tienen cargo de dar de beuer, y comer al sol, y a la tierra, con la sangre, y carne de sus enemigos."

lord. What goeth completely to him becometh the flowers, the tubes of tobacco, the drink, the food, the breech clout, the cape, the vestment. He maketh it all complete — the house, the land.

"And he is revered; in truth, he is considered as mother, as father. He becometh as the silk cotton tree, as the cypress tree, near which, nigh unto which there is the taking of refuge.

"Is not this one the same as thou? Still another thing: is not the heart of thy younger brother, of thy older brother the same as thy heart? Is not thy blood the same as his blood? Did not our lord provide thee with bones, with flesh the same as his bones, his flesh? Are his heart, his body of wood, of stone, of copper? This same one is a weeper, a sorrower. Is there anyone who doth not wish for happiness?

"This same one is resolute, stout-hearted, brave, moderate, patient in adversity, devout, blessed of heart. He calleth out in sadness to our lord of the near, of the nigh. He is a sigher. He doth not practise the joy, the pleasure of sleep. At midnight, at the parting of the night, he weepeth, sorroweth, sigheth; he calleth to, he crieth out to the lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind; he calleth out to him with weeping, calleth out to him in sadness, beggeth of him, importuneth him. And at night he holdeth vigil; there is no sleep [at the time of] sleep.

"And the real woman is just by herself; one is her house; her sleeping place is a separate place. And on it she lieth holding vigil, lieth awaiting the sweeping, the cleaning, the offering of incense. There our lord showeth her mercy, taketh pity upon her. There he granteth her things. Perhaps on earth he giveth her valor to be rich on earth; there will be her drink, her food. It is not apparent [whence hath come] that which she will eat; that which she will plant in the maize field will all prosper. That which she will handle in the center of the market place, she will sell all. Perhaps she meriteth there the peaceful, the gentle death.

"Perhaps [for the man] there will be the status of the warrior, of the eagle warrior, of the ocelot warrior, of the courageous warrior. He meriteth military prowess.²¹ And our lord provideth all merit, the warm, the soft, the sweet, the fragrant. The wealth, the riches come from him by whom we live. There he is revered.

in maxtlatl, in tilmatli, in quemjtl in muchi qujcem-aci, in calli, in tlalli:

auh in acovic, in tlalchivic itto, in nelli nammacho, tāmacho: in pochotl, in avevetl muchioa, in jtlac inaoac necalaqujlo.

Injn amo çan ie no ie, in te: oc ie centlamantli, amo çan mjccauh, amo çan machcauh: yn jiollo, amo çan no iuhqujn moiollo, amo çan no eztli, in jezio: auh in jomjo, in jnacao: amo çan ie no ie in mjtz-omjioti, in mjtznacaioti totecujō: tlein, quavitl, tetl, tepuztli in jiollo in jnacao? ca çaçan ie chocanj, tlaocujanj: cujx aca aqujnequj inpaqujz?

ca çaçan ie iollotetl, iollotlaquaoac, iollotepitztic, motlacaoaltianj, tlapaccaihijovianj: auh tlateumatinj, teutl in jiollo: qujtlaocolnonotzanj in tloque, naoaque elcicivinj: amo qujpaccachioa, amo qujvelica-chioa in cochiztli, in tlaociooan, in ioalli xelivi choca, tlaocioa, elcicivi: qujnotza, qujtatzilia in tloque, naoaque, in ioalli ehecatl qujchoqujznonotza, qujtlaoculnonotza, qujtlaaitlanjlia, qujtlatamatata-qujlia: auh ioalli qujtztoc, acochiztli, in cochiztli:

auh in nel cioatl, çan oc onquato, centetl ical, ceccan icochian: auh ipan ihiçatoc, qujmamattoc in ochpan-oaztli, in tlaqujculiztli: auh in tlenamactli. Vncan on in qujcnomati, in qujcnotta totecujō, vncan on in qujtlamamaca, in at talticpac, oqujchiotl qujmaca, mocujltonoz in talticpac, oniez in jauh, itlaqual: hanezqujn qujquaz: in tlein mjlpān contlaliz, muchi muchioaz: in tlen qujntlamachtiz y tianqujztli inepantla, muchi aqujz: anoçe vncan qujmaceoa in jvian, iocuxca mjqujliztli:

anocé in oqujchiotl, in quauhiotl, in oceloiotl: tia-cauhoqujchtli iez, qujmaceoa in quappetlatl, in ocelo-petlatl: auh qujcenmaceoaltia in totecujō, in toton-quj in jamanquj, in tzopelic, in aviac: in jnecujltonol, in jnetlamachtitl ipalnemoanj, in jtechcopa vitz: vncan on in acovic, in tlalchivic itto.

21. in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl: corresponding Spanish text: "y le hazen merced, que sea contado entre los soldados fuertes, y valientes, que se llaman quauhpētlatl ocelopētlatl..." Cf. also Chap. 43.

"O noblemen, O lords of the cities, what do ye do? Because of these very things here, you will be injured, you will be stoned. Already ye have been seen. Know the desert place, the battlefield where our mother, our father, the sun, Tlaltecuctli record one, where they indicate one, where they enter one in the book, where they mark one.

"Thou nobleman, thou eagle warrior, thou ocelot warrior: what art thou to be? Go. Hide thyself. Follow, desire the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, the valiant warriors, those who died in war, who rejoice, who are gladdened, who take pleasure, who live in abundance, who sip [the flower nectar] forever, who always cry out to, who gladden the sun, the valiant warrior, Yaomiqui, Quauhtleuanitl. Accordingly, is it not possible? Be happy, rejoice in the company of others in the heavens, in the home of the sun. Accordingly, is it possible that thou wilt be ejected from the very filth, the refuse, in which thou wilt envelop thyself?²²

"Fortunate is he of whom it is said, 'He hath taken a captive,' or 'He hath been carried away; he hath been imprisoned; he hath known the home of the sun: N., who was our son, the valiant warrior, or our cousin. His heart hath found repose.' The old men, the old women will weep, will sigh; their tears will constantly start forth, constantly gush forth.

"But perhaps thou art much afraid or much frightened?²³ Hence, know the ridge, the ditch.²⁴ It is said thou wilt be a man of the earth. The lord of the near, of the nigh, our lord, will show thee pity, will show thee mercy. Thou wilt see, thou wilt admire all that which thou wilt plant on the ridge. And sow the field; plant, transplant all, plant the small maguery, the saplings! Therefrom thy sons will go reviving; our lord will create [food] in time of famine. Verily, thou wilt also yet see, yet eat, yet drink of thy labors.

"And thou noble one, whosoever thou art, it is thou especially, thou who art a son of noble lineage whom I address: Care for the drum, for the gourd rattle which are the means of awakening the city, and the source of joy for our lord of the near, of the nigh; a means by which he is requested, a means by

Tepilhoane, aoaquee, tepcoaquee: tle ammalia, yca vel in njcan amo ca nemomotlalo, amo ca netetepacholoz, ie vel in amjito: xontlamatican in jxtlaoacan, in teuatenpan: in vncan teicujloa, in vncan temachiotia, in vncan tetlapalajuja, tetlilanja in tonan, in tota tonatiuh tlattecuctli.

In titecpiltontli, auh in tiquauhtli, in tocclotl: tle tiez ma xiauh, ma ximotlati, xiqujmontoca, xiqujnonelevi in quauhti in ocelo, in tiacaoan in iaomjicque in paquj, in avia, in motlamachtia, in mocujltonoa, in tlachichina: in cemjac, in muchipa in coiovia in caviltia in tonatiuh, in tiacauh in iaomjicquj, in quauhtleojtl: anca aveli intla teoan xavia, ximotlamachtia in jlvicatl ijtic, in tonatiuh ichan: anca ie veli yn jz tinexoxopevililo, anca ie vel in teuhitli, tlaquilli ic timjlatzotiaz:

quēmach amj in jtolo, omotlamali, anoce ovicoc, ocalaqujloc oontlama in tonatiuh ichan in N. in topiltzin, in tiacauhtzin: in noço tomachtzin oncatca, occuh in jiollo: ca onchocaz, ca onelciciviz in veve, in jlama: ca oalchichitonjz, oaltzitzicujnjz in jixaio.

Auh anoço cenca timomauhtia, anoço cenca mavin moiollo: ma ic xontlamati in cuenco, in apanco mjttoa, talticpac toqujchtli tiez, mjtznioittaz, mjtznicnomatiz in tloque, naoaque in totecujlo: in tlein tocontlaliz cuenco, muchi tiqujttaz, muchi ticmaviçoz: auh xontlatepeoa in mjlpán, muchi xocontlali xocontlalaquj xocontoca in metzintli, in quauhtzintli ytech patitivi in mopilhoan qujiocoiaz in totecujlo in maianaliztli, nel oc no tehoatl tiqujttaz, oc ticquaz, oc tiqujz in motlahijoviliz.

Auh in titecpiltontli, in ac noço tehoatl: oc cenca tehoatl njmjtznótza in titepiltzin, in tetechcopa tiqujz xicmocujtlavi in vevetl, in aiacachtli yn iixtiloca in atl, in tepetl: auh in javitiloca in tloque, naoaque: in jtlaitlanjililoca, in jtlatoltemoloca injc tlaoculnonotzalo, in vncan itlanjlilo in jhijo, in jtlatol: auh

22. Ibid.: "no sera posible, por uentura apartaros de las borracherias, y de las carnalidades, en que estays embueltos?"

23. Read *mani* in moiollo.

24. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y si eres medroso, y cobarde, y no te atreves a las cosas de la guerra: vete a labrar la tierra, y haz mahizales...."

which his word is sought in order that he be called to in sadness when his spirit, his word are requested. And it is a means of remembrance, a means by which warfare is cast, is bored as with a fire drill, is instigated.

Will it be forever, even though ye have placed, even though ye have chosen your ruler? Hath he perhaps come forever? Will he perhaps become as a tree? Will he perhaps become as a mountain?²⁵ Will he perhaps never die? Will he perhaps also endure forever? Perhaps, on the other hand, it is closing with him? Will there perhaps be no more realm, government, when he hath died, when our lord hath become enraged, hath become wilful, hath hid him unto himself?

"Art thou thus content? Art thou perhaps well satisfied in whatsoever thou dost, takest charge of, undertakest? Perhaps thou destroyest thyself; perhaps thou givest up in despair. What person showeth concern for thee? And perhaps also [our lord] will hire someone for the city. Perhaps he will come from somewhere to rule the city and to be on the reed mat, on the reed seat.²⁶ And he will take charge of the military.

"If thou enterest near, nigh unto our lord, if thou givest thyself to thy city; even as in a wedding, if thou parades in public, if thou makest thyself desirable,²⁷ if thou dost not wander, even though thou art to dwell in the plants, in the woods, our lord will come to take thee. He will come to place thee on the reed seat, on the reed mat; he will cause thee to rule the city. On thy back, on thy shoulders, in thy arms he will place the governed.

"Whom do ye see? Whom do ye also await? What do ye do, O ye of the nobility? Whom do ye flee?

"And, O ye eagle warriors, ye ocelot warriors, know ye not that the city hath two eyes, two hands, two feet? Know ye not that two are the mother, the father of the city, who are its washers, its bathers of people, and its suppressors of tears?

"And the so-called executives of the realm: is not one a nobleman? Is not one a warrior? Is not one a military Tlacatecutli, [one] a Tlacohtecutli?

in jlnamjcoca, in jpitzaloca, in jmamalioaca in teuatl, in tlachinolli in jicoloca:

cujx cemjcac iez in maço anqujtlalique, in maço anqujpepenque in amotlatocauh: cujx ocen valla, cujx quauhtiz, cujx tepetiz, cujx aic mjqujz, cujx noço icemjcaian iez, cujx noço ça contzacutica, cujx aiocmo tecutioaz, tlatocatioaz in omjc in omoçoma in omonenec totecujo, in oconmotlatili:

cujx ic timoiollalia, cujx ic ie vel ietinemj in mo- iollo, in canpa tlein ticmocujtlavia, in tlein ticmote- qujtia: in aço timopopoloa, in aço timotlavelcaoa ac ce moca: auh cujx noço motetlaqueviz in atl, in tepetl, cujx canapa oallaz in qujtqujz in qujmamaz altepetl: auh in petlapan, icpalpan iez: auh in quj- piaz in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl.

Intla itloc, inaoac ximocalaquj in totecujo: intla xicmomaca in mauh, in motepeuh: in maca çan cioativaian intla ixpan ximoquequetza, intla xicmo- nenecti, intlaca xicnêncujlilti: in manel qujltiltan, quauhtitlan timonemjtiz, ca vmpa mitzanatiuh in totecujo: ca mjtztaliqujuh in petlapan, in jcpalpan: ca mjtzpacholtiz in atl, in tepetl: ca mocujtlapan, ca moteputzco, momamalhoazco, qujmotlaliliz in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli.

Ac anqujtta, ac no anqujchia tle amay? tecpipilte? tetzonoane? teiztioane? ac anqujtlalcavia:

auh yn amehoantin quauhte, oceloe, amo anquj- mati in ontetl ixtelolo in atl, in tepetl, in ome yma, in ome yxi: amo anqujmati in ome inan, yta, in atl, in tepetl in jtepapaccauh, in jteahalticauh: auh in jteixaiopapachocauh:

auh in mjtoa in jtequacauh in petlati, in jcpalti amo ce pilli? amo ce quauhtli? amo ce quappa tlatate- cutli? tlatochtecutli?

25. Ibid.: "no sera su vida, como vida de arbol, o de peña, que dura mucho..."

26. Ibid.: "por ventura faltado los que agora rigen, la comunidad, yra a alquilar a alguno a otra parte, o a otro reyno, para que la rija, y para que posea el trono real..."

27. Ibid.: "y si te hizieres familiar de los que rigen, y te deleytares con ellos, como em bodas: como haze la mujer, que se muestra em publico atanjada, y galana para que la qujerā, y la desseen..."

"And is not one a nobleman? Are they not complementary? And is not one a military Tlacatecatl, [one] a Tlacochealcatl? Is not one a nobleman? They take charge of the military; in their hands rest the eagle vessel, the tube. They provide the sun with drink; they make offerings to it.²⁸

"They will come to take thee from the plants, from the woods; and from the ridges, from the ditches; they will place thee on the reed mat, on the reed seat. Thou wilt weep for the vassals; thou wilt stop their tears. In thy hands will rest the blue water, the yellow water, the means of washing, of bathing, the vassals.²⁹ And thou wilt bring forth the castigation; thou wilt deliver the castigation to one. Our lord of the near, of the nigh, will make thee his face, will make thee his ears, will make thee his lips, will make thee his jaw. Thou wilt make declarations for him.

"And consider, O noblemen, O palace people, O ye of noble descent, and ye, O eagle warriors, O ocelot warriors. Take no rest! Look to all places! Where are your blotches? Where are the blemishes in your way of life? What is the condition of your hearts? Are they precious green stones? Are they precious turquoises?

"And art thou of such a nature that thou art suited to the realm when thou art like excrement, like refuse, when thou becomest a servant of jimson weed, the inedible, the undrinkable, that which maketh one drunk, which destroyeth one, the so-called pulque? And the filth, the vice — dost thou reflect, dost thou think in thy heart where and how thou mayest have done it? And perhaps thou wilt desire to steal from one? And perhaps thou hast done it, thou has performed it.

"Try thyself. Art thou of such a nature that the governed will be thy merit? Art thou of such a nature that thou wilt mother these? Art thou of such a nature that thou wilt father these? Perhaps not. Not only is thy desert, thy merit reprehension; thou

auh amo ce pilli, amo in nanamjcoa? auh amo ce quappa tlacatecatl, tlacochcalcatl, amo no ce pilli in quipia quappetlatl, ocelopetlatl: in jmac manj in quauhxicalli, in quappiaztl in catlitia, in qujtlamaca tonatuih.

Ca mjtzanatuih in qujltitlan, in quauhtitlan: auh in cuenco, in apanco: mjtztalaz in petlapan, in jcpalpan, tehoatl toconchoqujiz, toconjxaiopapachoz in cujtlapilli atlapalli: te momac manjz in matlalatl, in toxpalatl in jpapacoca, in jahaltitoca in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: auh tehoatl ticqujxtiz in atl cecec, tehoatl tictemacaz in atl cecec, in tzitzicaztli, te mjtzmjxtiz, mjtzmonacaztiz, tehoatl mjtzmotentiz, mitzmocamachaltiz, yn tloque, naoque: tehoatl tictlatenqujxtiliz.

Auh tla ie ximottacan pipilte, tecpipilte tetzonvane, teiztioane: auh in amehoantin quauhte, oceloe, tla ximocuecucapan, tla cenca novian ximoottacan, canjn ca amoccio, canjn ecauhio amonemjiz, quenamj quen ca in amoiollo: cujx chalchivtl, cujx teuxivtl:

auh cujx tiuhquj petlapan, icpalpan timonequj, in ticujtlaio, in titlaçollo, in ticmotequjtia in mjxitl, in tlapatl, in aqualonj, in aioanj, in teivinti, in tepolo, in mjtoa octli: auh in teuhtli, tlaçolli tiqujlnamjquj, in jpan ticnemjtia moiollo, in canjn, auh in quenjn, ma xicchioa: auh in aço tetopco, tepetlcalco timaiaviznequj: auh in at noço otax, oticchiuh,

tla ximoieieco: cujx tiuhquj momaceoal iez in, in tlatconj in tlamamalonj? tiuhquj tinantiz yn? cujx tiuhquj titatli tiez, yn? Acaçomo, amo çan ie molvil, momaceoal in quavtl, in tetl, in tematlan tonotinemjz, in titemapan timuchiuhntinemjz: auh amo çan

28. *jtequacauh, tlacatecutli, tlacochtecutli, tlacatecatl, tlacochcalcatl*, etc. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "tiene necesidad de personas, que sean executores de los mandamientos, de los que rigen. Para este negocio, de executar la justicia, avia dos personas principales, vno que era [sic] noble, y persona del palacio, y otro capitan, y valiente, que era del exercicio de la guerra; tambien sobre los soldados, y capitanes auja dos principales que los regian, el vno que era tlacatecatl, el otro tlacochtecutli, el vno de los dhos era pilli, y el otro principal en las cosas de la guerra [sic], y siempre pareaua, vn noble, con vn soldado, para estos oficios: tambien pa capitanes generales, de las cosas de la guerra, pareaua dos, vno noble, o generoso, y del palacio, y otro valiente, y muy exercitado en la guerra, el vno destes se llamaua tlacatecatl, y el otro tlacochcalcatl: estos entendian en todas las cosas de la guerra, en ordenar todas las cosas, que concernjria a la millicia." Probably the Nahuatl text is correct in pairing *tlacatecutli* with *tlacochtecutli*. Cf. also Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, p. 113.

29. *Ibid.*: "y pondran en tus manos, las cosas de la iusticia: que es como vna agua muy limpia, para lauar, y donde se lauan, las suiedades o delictos de la gente popular. . ."

wilt rest in one's hands; thou wilt deliver thyself into the hands of others. And not only is thy desert, thy merit blindness, paralysis.³⁰ But is not thy desert, thy very merit the miserable cape, the old rag, misery? Wilt thou not suffer extreme privation? Wilt thou somewhere be provided joy, contentment, wilt thou experience tranquility of thy heart, thy body? Eternal torment, affliction are not thy only desert, thy gift.

"Take heed; this is all with which I now greet, salute, encourage you. And I do my duty so that when sometime it will happen, you will recall, you will say: 'We have not heeded it.'

"May our lord govern you in peace and quiet. And pay ye special attention; little by little dispose yourselves. Who art thou that thou wilt lose through neglect? Is it truly thou? Whom wilt thou blame? And who art thou that thou wilt take, grasp, place in the chambers of thy heart, clutch in thy hand, guard that which thou art given, that which thou art told? And thou wilt bless thyself; thou wilt show mercy unto thyself. With it thou wilt live and thou wilt eat, thou wilt drink on earth. Wilt thou bless someone? For thou wilt bless thyself. And is it not so that thou wilt render glory to the old men, to the old women? And will we not also through thee experience parenthood, experience manhood?

"This is all which ye take, which ye heed. May our lord rest you in peace."

ie molvil, momaceoal in jxpopoiotl in cocotoztli: auh amo ie molvil, amo ie vel momaceoal in aiaçulli in tatapatli, in jcnioitl: amo vmpa onqujztiaz in tlalticpac cana tavixtiaz, cana tivellamattiaz, hica tlacaco tlamatiz in moiollo, in monacacio? amo çan cemjçac tonevitztli, chichinaqujztli molvil, monemac.

Tle anqujmomachitia ca ixqujch in, ic axcan namechtlapaloa, namechciauhquetza, namechciap-poa: auh noqujxtia injc yquac in quenman in jpan-tiz anqujlnamjqujzque, anqujtozque, macace ticcac-que:

manoçoc yvian, manoçoc iocuxca amechonmovi-qujlitiuh in totecujto: auh ma oc cenca tle anqujmo-machitia, ma oc cenca tle anqujmati, ma oc amoiolic, ma çan yvian xonmotemacan: ac te in tonmoxicca-oaz, ha nel ie tehoatl, ac ixco, icpac tictemaz: auh ac te in toconcuiz, in toconanaz, in moiollocaltitlan tocontlaliz, in toconmapiquiz, in toconmopialtiz, in timaco, in tilvilo: auh ha tonmocneliz, ha tonmotla-oculiz, ha ic tinemjz: auh ha ticquaz, ha tiquiz in tlalticpac, cuix aca tiqujcneliz, ca timocneliz: auh ha tel ioan tiqujmonteiotiz, in vevetque, in jlamatque: auh ano mopal tonpilhoacateuhtlamatizque ano mopal tioaloqujchtlamatizque.

O ca ixqujch in, in anqujmocujlia, in anqujmoca-qujtia: ma amechmotlamatcatlalili in totecujto.

30. cocotoztli: read cocototztli.



Fifteenth Chapter. Here it is told how, when the ruler had spoken, another dignitary stood up, who admonished the inhabitants of the city in the presence of the ruler. Thereby he especially praised the words of the ruler, and venerated the ruler. And with special sternness he censured the evils which the ruler first mentioned.

"Thou who art here, thou who art an eagle warrior, thou who art an ocelot warrior, and thou who art a woman: here the master, the ruler, dealeth personally with thee, with thy city. He speaketh to thee, crieth out to thee, personally giveth thee, placeth before thee, scattereth before thee the precious green stones, the precious turquoise, the incomparable, the unofferable, the unsayable which our lords, the lords, the rulers, the guardians of the city, those by whom the earth existeth, took unto themselves. The coffer, the reed chest, is opened; thou hast seen that there lie inert, lie folded the store of the governed, the secrets, and the commandments of our lords.

"Now take it, heed it. Who art thou? Who dost thou think thou art that he dealeth personally with thee, with thy city even though thou art a responsibility, a burden? There dwelt, there were, there existed the lords who were the lips, the jaw, the eyes, the ears of the city. The lord of the near, of the nigh, commissioned them; for it is their charge, their duty, their obligation to make public to the city the spirit, the words of your ruler.¹

"And now it is true that truly thou troublest his heart over thy city. It is true that he troubleth his heart over thy being, thy way of life. And it is assuredly true that he is thy real mother, thy real father. Thy mother is not thy mother; thy father is not thy father.²

"Truly this is thy mother, this is thy father, thou poor eagle warrior, thou poor ocelot warrior. There

le caxtolli capitulo, vncan mjttoa: in quenjn iquac ontlatol tlatonj, oc ce moquetzaia tecutlatol, in qujn-nonotzaia aoaque, tepeoaque, in jxpan tlatonj: ic oc cenca qujmaviziotiaia in jlatol tlatonj: ioan qujmavizteneoaia yn tlatonj: ioan oc cenca tlaquauh qujtecaoaiaia in tlatlaculli, in achto qujtoaia tlatonj.

Ca yz tonoc in tiquauhtli, in tocelutl: auh in ti-cueie, in tivipile, ca njcan mjtznomatcavia in mauh, in motepeuh, in tlatat in tlatonj, in mjtznnotza, in mjtztatzilia, inomatca in mjtzmaca, in mjxpan qujtlalia, in mjxpan qujchaiaoa in chalchiuhtli, in teuxiuhli, in anemjuhquj, in atemaconj, in ateilhvilonj: in jpan molpilitoque in totocujooan in tetcutin, in tlatoque, in apixque, in tepexique: in ichoantin inca manj tlalli, ca otlapouh in toptli, in petlacalli: ca otontlachix in vncan cepoatoc, cuelpachiuhtoc in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj, in jnpial, in jnnelpil in totocujovan, in vel intop, in vel inpetlacal: auh in vel innaoatil.

An axcan tlaxicuj, tlaxiccaquj: ac tehoatl, ac timomati in mjtznomatcavia in mauh, in motepeuh, macivi in titlatqujtl, macivi in titlamamalli, ca onovac, ca ieloac: ca onoque in tecutlatoque in jtenoan, in jcamachaloan, in jxoan, in jnacazoan in atl, in tepetl: in oqujnnaoati yn tloque, naoaque: ca ichoan ynteniz, inmamal, ichoantin innaoatil in qujqujxtizque in jhiio in atl, in tepetl, in jten, in jlatol in amotlatocauh.

Auh in axcan ca nelli, in nelli yiollo ticcocoa in matzin, in motepeztin: a ca nelli in qujcocoa yiollo in moieliz, in monemjliz: auh ca nelli in ie nelli in ie ichoatl vel monantzín, vel motatzín: amo monan in monan, amo mota, in mota:

ye nelli monantzín, y, ie nelli motatzín, in ticnoquauhtli, in ticnoocelutl, in aocac moca, in aiac

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "aunque es así que están presentes, muchos senadores, y sabios, y rethoricos, que pudieran hablar, en su nombre, dexádelo [sic], lo que el dixo: porque ellos tienen este oficio, y este cargo de hablar al pueblo, y manifestarle las leyes que dicta el señor rey."

2. Ibid.: "la madre que te pario, y el padre que te engendro, no están [sic] tu verdadera madre, y padre como el lo es..."

is no longer anyone here in thy behalf; no one giveth thee, addresseth thee a word or two. Here thou acknowledgest thy mother, here thou acknowledgest thy father, here thou enjoyest wealth, here thou enjoyest happiness. He dealeth personally with thee, with thy city. Before thee openeth the coffer, the reed chest. Thou lookest above us, to the land of the dead. Before thee are scattered the precious necklace, the precious feathers, the precious green stones, the precious turquoises, the incomparable ones.³

"And thou who hast a mother, thou who hast a father: perhaps thou art noble, perhaps thou art a valiant nobleman, or perhaps thou camest to life, thou wert born in a time of wealth, in a time of abundance. If thou graspest not, takest not, hearest not that which thy mother, thy father give thee, for here the master, the ruler, the city deal personally with thee, then to whom besides him wilt thou listen? Who will come? Whom dost thou await? Whom wilt thou obey?

"And perhaps thou wilt not take it, perhaps thou wilt not seize upon it, because already thou knowest of it and because thy reward is already set. But to whom else wilt thou listen if thou dost not listen to this one? And not only hast thou become miserable, not only art thou unfortunate, not only is it the end, not only is it so, [but] hast thou not caused anger? Will not something come? Perhaps thou takest fright. Perhaps the castigation of our lord cometh.⁴ Perhaps thou hast hastened blindness, paralysis, rottenness. Or perhaps thou wilt seek, thou wilt know misery, the miserable cape, the old rag.

"And in what manner doth thy heart desire? Is our lord to show himself to thee as a man, to speak to thee as a man, to talk as a man, to talk?⁵ Wouldst thou perhaps grasp, wouldst thou perhaps take his word? Wouldst thou perhaps thereby be satisfied? Wouldst thou perhaps thus be content, and would thy heart perhaps thus be at rest?

"O accursed one! Who art thou? Who dost thou think thou art? Here we open the coffer, the reed chest; before thee are scattered what we have spread, what we have strewn about: the precious necklace, the precious feathers, the precious things; the pre-

cententli, cencamatl, mjtzmaca, mjtzilhvía: njcan tinanecatlamati, njcan titatecatlamati, njcan timocujltonoa, njcan timotlamachtia: mjtznomatcavia in matzin, in motepetzin: mjtspan tlapovi in toptli, petlacalli, tontlachia in topan in mjtlan: mjtspan chiaiavi in cozcattl, in quetzalli, in chalchiuhtli, in teuxiuhtli, yn anemjuhquj.

Auh in tehoatl yn tinane, in titate, in at titecpilton-tli, in at tiquappilli, in at noço netlacamatcapan, in at totoncapan iamancapan tijol, titlacat, intlaca tic-cuj, intlaca ticana, intlaca ticcaquj, in mjtzmaca in monan, in mota: ca njcan mjtzmonomatcavilia in tlatcatl, in tlatoanj, in atl, in tepetl: auh ac oc mach ie in ticcaqujz, aqujn vitz, aqujn ticchia, aqujn tictlacamatiz:

auh acaço toconanaz, acaço toconcuiz, ca ie te tocōmati, auh ca ie mopatiuh muchioa: auh ac oc mach ie in ticcaqujz, intlaca ticcaquj, yn? auh amo çan ie otovitic, amo çan ie omotlaveliltic, amo çan ie ie ixqujch, amo çan ie ie iuhquj, amo titlaneço-malti, amo ie itla vitz, at ie timotetzavia, at ie iz vitz in jquauhtzin, in jtetzin totecujō: at noço oticmji-vitili in jxpopoiotl, in cocototztli, in palanaliztli: at noço in jcnoiōtl, in aiaçulli yn tatapatli, tonmottaz vel tonmotztiaz.

Auh quenjn noço qujnequj moiollo, mjtzmotlaca-ittitiz in totecujō? mjtztlacanotzaz? tlatcatlatōz? tlatōz: auh cujx ie vel toconcuiz, cujx ie uel tocon-anaz in jten, in jtlato: auh cujx ic pachiviz in moiollo, cujx ic tonvellamatiz? auh cujx yc vellom-motlaliz moiollo?

Vi tlaueiloque, ac te ac timomati: in njcan tictlapoa in toptli, petlacalli in mjtspan chiaiavi, in ticcecen-mana, in ticmomoiaoa in cozcattl, in quetzalli, in tla-çotli, in maqujztli, in chalchiuhtli, in teuxiuhtli, in

3. Ibid.: "en tu presencia a avierto, y derramado las riquezas, de su doctrina, que son mas preciosas, que cuentas de oro, y plumas ricas, y chalchihuites, y safiros, muy preciosos y raros."

4. God, not ruler, is meant. Cf. ibid.: "por umentura, viene sobre ti algun espantoso hado, o algun trabajoso, y riguroso, castigo de nro señor dios..."

5. Ibid.: "quieres que te venga a hablar, nuestro señor dios, en figura de hombre? y cō palabras de hombre?"

cious bracelet, the precious green stones, the precious turquoises; the incomparable, the ungivable, the unsayable,⁶ the treasures of our lords, their very possessions, their very stores.

"O accursed one, was the master, the ruler of thy city, the youngest one, the lord of men, really set in, dispatched especially for thee? Do we here scatter, do we spread [especially for thee] the things on his lap, in his bosom? How much is his task? How much doth he know? Dost thou perchance know in what manner thou art carried, in what manner thou art borne upon the back, and in what manner thou art led along the road?

"Certainly night [and] day he remaineth sighing for thee, weeping for thee, for thy city. Truly he goeth on elbow, on knee for thee, on thy behalf, [to know] how it will be in the brief time he will lead thee along the road, and what thy condition [will be] in one year, in two years; in what manner thou wilt be carried, in what manner thou wilt be led along the road, and what condition our lord desireth for thee. Perhaps something came for thee, perhaps something was conceived for thee, perhaps something was declared for thee, above us, in the land of the dead. Wert thou perchance forsaken?

"Wilt thou perhaps watch the adverse, the frightening things which the old men, the old women went not seeing but fearing? Is it perhaps thy charge that there will be an eclipse of the sun? Is it perhaps thy charge that there will be an earthquake? Is it perhaps thy charge that there will be tempests in the city? Is it perhaps thy charge that there will be apprehension? Wilt thou look to, wilt thou fear the declaration of war? Is it perhaps thy charge? Will perhaps the city be shot with arrows? Will it be surrounded by enemies? Wilt thou look to, wilt thou fear that perhaps the city will crumble, will scatter? Perhaps there will be agitation, tremors, and the city will lie abandoned, will lie darkened? Will it perhaps result as a place of desolation?

"And will there be enslavement?⁷ Will there be the washing of others' mouths, the washing of others' hands? And will perhaps castigation come? Will sickness, will famine come to prevail?⁸ Will

anemjuhquj in atemaconj in atelvilonj, in jntop, in jnpetlcal in totecujoan, in vel innelpil, in jnpial.

Tlaveliloque, cujx nelli mach ca cenca moca tlaliloc, naoatiloc in mauh, in motepeuh, in tlacatl, in tlatoanj, in xocoiotl, in tlacatecutli? in njcan tictlaccenmanjlia, in titlamomoiaoa, in jxillan, in jtozcaltan? Quexqujch in jtequjtzin, quexqujch in qujmomachitia: cujx ticmati in quē titco, in quen timamalo: auh in quē totlatocitilo:

ca ceioval, cemjhlviti, in nelli mach moca elciciuh-toc, in nelli mach moca chocatoc in mauh, in motepeuh, in nelli mach imolicpitzin, itetepontzin ic tlacçatinemj, in moca in mopampa, in quen nenti in macujl, in matlac in mjtztlatocitiz: auh quen cexiuh, quen oxihuh quen tamjo, quen titco, quen totlatocitilo, quē mjtznequjlia in totecujo: cujx oitla mopan oalla, cujx oitla mopan iocoloc, cujx oytla mopan mjtto in topan in mjctlan, cujx otimacaaoloc,

cujx tehoatl tiqujttaz in tecoco, in temamauhti, in haqujtzitvi, auh in qujmacaztvi in vevetque, yn jlamatque: cujx te mopan teutl qualoz, cujx te mopan tlallolinjz, cujx te mopan amamaniz in atl, in tepetl, cujx te mopan avic tlatlachialtiloz, cujx tehoatl tiqujttaz, cujx te ticmaviçoz, cujx te mopan olinjz in mjtl, in chimalli, cujx cacalioaz, cujx iaoiaololoz in atl, in tepetl, cujx te tiqujttaz, cujx te ticmaviçoz: cujx xinjz, cujx moiaoz in atl, in tepetl, cujx cuecuetzaloz, viviiotzaloz: auh cactimanjz, iooatimanjz, in atl, in tepetl, cujx inencauhian momantiqujçaz:

auh cujx aztatilo, mecaxicoltiloz, cujx tecamapacaz, cujx tematequjz: auh cujx noe oallaz in quavitl, in tetl, cujx cocoliztli, cujx maianaliztli momanaqujuh, cujx xaxamacaz, cujx xpoliviz in cujtlapilli,

6. Ibid.: "aquí derramamos, y esparcimos delante ti: cuentas de oro, y plumas ricas, y piedras preciosas, y muy finas, y muy raras, que no se suelen dar, ni se suelen decir..."

7. *astatilo, mecaxicoltiloz*: see *supra*, Chap. 6, n. 4.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "O por uñtura vendra tiempo en que nos hagan a todos esclavos, y andaremos sirviendo en los mas baxos servicios, que es de arrastrar piedras, y maderos, o en servir a los enfermos?"

perhaps the vassals be dispersed? Will they be destroyed? Will the city perhaps result as a place of desolation?

"Our lords remain inspiring, remain ordering war, that the earth may endure; for drink is provided for one, food is provided for one, offerings are provided for one above us, in the land of the dead.

"Is it not true of thee that thou art much preoccupied only with thyself, even though thou art a responsibility, a burden? Great is the task of our lords.

"Do not reflect to thyself; do not scorn him who standeth here before thee, [before] thy city, for our lord hath personally inclined his heart to thee. For [our lord] hath confided in him, hath inspired him; for the word or two he hath set forth become thy reward. Go, therefore, attaching thyself to them. May they be thy provision as thou dwellest on earth. Do not cast them away. Place them well in the chambers of thy heart. Guard them, for they will become thy nourishment.

"Thou hast obtained merit. Who else hath so endowed thee? Thy mother, thy father. And wilt thou perhaps never again merit such? Take heed! It is all with which I favor the master, the ruler, the city. May your hearts rest, O my sons."

in atlapalli, cujx ynencauhian momantiqujçaz in atl, in tepetl:

ca teuatl, ca tlachinolli in qujpitztoque, in qujiocuxtoque in totecujiocan, injc vel manj tlalli, ca teatlitia, ca tetlaqualtia, ca tetlamaca in topan in mjetlan.

Ca amo ma nelli mach, ça cenca çan tixcavilo: in maço titlatqujtl, in maço titlamamalli, ca vei yn jntequjuh totecujoan,

ma mjtlic titlato, ma xictli ticcuç: in njcan mjxpan moquetza in matzin, in motepetzin, ca tlacaa in jiollotzin totecujo, in mjtznomatcavia: ca qujmomaqujlia, ca qujmoiollotilia, ca mopatiuh muchioa, in cententli, in cencamatl qujmoqujxtilia: manoço ic xonjlpitinemj, ma motac: onmuchiuhtinemj in tlalticpac: maca noço can xocontlatlaça, ma vel moiollotitlan xictlali, ma xicmopialti: ca monenca, ca moiolca muchioaz,

otitlacnopilhvi, aca ac oiuhquj mjtzmacac, in monan, in mota: auh acaçomo oc no ceppa, iuhquj tiqujcnopilviz. Tle anqujmomachitia: ca ixqujch-tzin, ic njcnopalevilia in tlatatl, in tlatoanj, in atl, in tepetl: ma amoiollotzin motlali, nopilhoane.



Sixteenth Chapter. Here is told how another elderly dignitary, well skilled in speech, replied in order to respond for the city, and to show pleasure for the discourse of the ruler, and to make clear how to do, how to realize all which the ruler had said, had stated.¹

"O master, O ruler, O our lord, thy vassals here take, here grasp, here rejoice in, here take pleasure in the little, the small bit of thy spirit, thy word, which cometh forth, which sparketh forth; that which our lord gave thee, which he placed within thee: the precious, the wonderful, the incomparable, which lieth inert, lieth folded in thy lap, within thy breast.

"Here the sons, the noble sons, the precious ones, the precious green stones, the precious bracelets, the sons of our lords, and the descendants of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl—those under his spell—take it, receive it. At this time they came to life, at this time they were born; their desert, their merit is the realm, the governed. So they came to life, so they were born, so they were created where in the beginning it was determined, ordained that they would be lords, that they would be rulers.

"Perhaps they will grasp it, take it, hold fast to it; and perhaps they will honor it, follow it, do it, make it their way of life; perhaps they will inscribe it; perhaps they will place it, insert it in the chambers of their hearts; perhaps they will clutch it well; perhaps they will place it, inscribe it right next to their hearts. For they are here, for already they know of it.

"Perhaps they will not benefit themselves; they will not benefit their understanding, and their being, their life. Never will they live with others, and they will not eat, they will not drink; their life will be naught. And perhaps they will not heed it; perhaps they will ignore it. Already they know of their difficulties, already they become agitated. But the duty

le caxtolli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa: injc tlanquijliaia, oc ce veve tecutlato, in vel qujmatia tlatolli, injc qujtlananqujliliaia altepetl: ioan ynjc qujtlacocamatia in tecutlatolli, ioan ynjc qujnextiaia in quenjn muchioaz, neltiz: in jxqujch in oqujto in oqujteneuh tlatoanj.

Tlacatle tlatoanje, totecoc: a ca njcan qujcuj, ca njcan cana, in mocujtlapil, in matlapal: a ca njcan qujmocujltonoa, qujmotlamachtia in oalqujca, in oalchitonj in achitzin, in tepitzin in mjhiotzin, in motlatoltzin: a in mjtzmomaqujli, in mjtjc qujmaqujli in totecujto, in tlaçotli, in maviztic, in anemjuhuquj in moxillantzinco, in motozcatlantzinco in cepoatoc, in cuelpachiuhtoc.

Ca njcan qujcuj, cana: in totecujtoan in tepilhoan, in tetzonoan, in teiztioan, in tlaçoti in chalchiuhtin, in maqujzti in jnpilhoan: auh in jtlâpitzalhoan, in jtlaxoxalhoan in topiltzin in quetzalcoatl: a in jpan iolque, in jpan tlatatque in jmjhlvil, in jnmaceoal in petlatl, in jcpalli: in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj in çan njman iuh iolque, in njman iuh tlatatque, in çan njman iuh iocoloque in canjn ioaia itoloc, iocoloc in tecutizque in tlatocatizque.

At concujzque, at conanazque, at conmpialtizque: auh at conmaviçozque, at contocazque, at conchi-oazque, at conmonemjliztizque, at conjcujlozque, at ijollocaltitlan contlalizque, conaqujzque, at vel conmapiqujzque, at vel iniollo itech contlalizque, conjcujlozque: ca iz onoque ca ie iehoan conmati.

Ach aonmocnelizque, aconjcnelizque in jmjx, in jiollo: auh in jieliz, in jnnemjliz, aic tetloc, tenaoac nemjzque: auh haqujquazque, haqujzque, a innemjliz iez. Auh anoço conahacaqujzque, acaço tle ipan conjttazque: ca ie iehoan conmati, anca ie imoujcauh, anca otlaneçomaltique: ca tel ie cvel patiooa, ca otimoqujxtitzino tlatatle, totecoc, tlatoanje:

1. This chapter is best understood by recalling that the ruler is, in fact, the mouthpiece of the god.

is performed, for thou hast already complied with thy obligation, O master, O our lord, O ruler.²

"Verily, they ignore it; they will not see it. And will they not go up against, go injuring themselves against, go beating themselves against the wall? Will they not go encountering the torrent, the crag? And is that not when they will make their efforts [to remember] thy words which have come forth? Will they not say, 'O that we had not heard it! O that we had not been told! We have become accursed. Verily we have abandoned it; we have our reward. What can be done? Is it yet in vain?'

"Here have obtained merit the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, the humble warriors, those no longer with mothers, those no longer with fathers, the orphaned. Here they deserve, they merit, a bit, a little of the leavings. They gather to themselves the leavings, the crumbs of the favored, the rich, the cherished, our lords.

"Wherever there is a friend, an acquaintance, of our lord, will he not take it, seize it? And will not our lord show him mercy? Will he not achieve? Will he not conform to the lord of the near, of the nigh, who will accord him something? Perhaps he will give him, will show him the military, or the governed, the realm.

"Verily, so is the saying that in the plants, in the woods our lord showeth mercy to one. And although he is in the excrement, in the refuse,³ the lord of the near, of the nigh, taketh one therefrom. He washeth one, he batheth one. Our lord will desire that he will carry the load, he will bear the burden, he will reign. He will direct, he will guide. The commoner will respect him; he will be his mother, his father. He will stop the tears of the vassals. He will bathe them, he will wash them. And he will determine their destruction, their exaltation. In his hands the common folk will be crushed, will be shattered, because he hath shown humility to the lord of the near, of the nigh. And well he took, heard, took to heart, guarded unto himself, and put into practise the precious, the incomparable which came forth, the word

ca nel aih qujmati, aqujttazque, aih a itech acitivi, a itech mocapanjtivi, a itech motzotzonativi in caltechitli, a qujmottititivi in atoiatl, in tepexitl: aih atel yquac yneellaquaval qujoalchioazque in onqujz mjhijotzin; aqujoalitozque. Iyo, ach macace ticcaque, macace in tilhviloque: omuchiuh, otodlavelitlic: ca tel vel in otoconcauhque, ca tel vel tipatioque: quē çan nel oc nen?

A ca njcan ontlacnopilhvia in quauhtli, in ocelutl, in jcnotiacauih in aoc nane, in aoc tate, in tlaconavalli: a ca achitzin, tepitzin tencaoztintli, njcan qujmomacevia, qujcnopilhvia intencaoztin, inquexoltzin qujmopepenja in vel nemaqueque, in vel axcaoque in tlaçotin, in totecujcan:

aço can ca in jcnjuh, in jtlajximach totecujcan: a ie qujcujz, a ie canaz: aih a ie qujcnomatiz in totecujcan, a ie qujçaz a qujqujxtiz in tloque naoaque ha itla ipan qujpoaz: aço quappetlatl, aço ocelopetlatl qujmacaz, qujttitiz: anoce in tlatconj in tlamamalonj in petlatl, in jcpalli.

Ca nel noc iuh ca tlatolli in qujltitlan, in quauhtitlan moteicnomachitia in totecujcan: aih inmanel cujtlatitlan, tlaçultitl[an] ca vmpa moteanjlia in tloque, naoaque ca motepapaqujlia, ca moteahaltitia: qujnequjz in totecujcan, iehoatl tlatqujz, tlamamaz: iehoatl petlatiz, icpaltiz: iehoatl tlavicz, iehoatl tlaotlatoc-tiz, ieh hacovic, tlachivic qujttaz in maceoalli, inan yta iez, ie qujxayopapachotiez in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli: ie cahaltiz, ie qujpapacaz: aih ie qujcotonjiz in jpolivia, in jacoqujçaa, ie imac xamanjz, imac teinjz in maceoalli: Ca nel noço oqujcnoma in tloque naoaque. Aih ca ovel qujcujc, qujcac, ca oqujmoi-loti, ca oqujmopialti: aih ca oqujmonemjizti in tlaçotli, in anemjuhquj yn oqujz in cententzin, in cencamatzin, in achitzin in mjhijotzin: in amo timo-tlacaicocux in omjztlatolti, in omjztcamachalolti in

2. The corresponding Spanish text is quoted at length because Sahagún appears not to have rendered the first phrases in the negative: "Tengo por averiguado, que sea [sic] aprouecharan desta doctrina, y con ella aprouecharan a su entendimjeto, y a su voluntad, y a su ser, y a su vida, y haciendo esto podran parecer, dondequiera, y aun ganar honrra y hacienda. Y si por uentura, tuujeren en poco, y menospreciaren, esta tam preciosa doctrina, alla se lo ayam, sera señal, que estan desechados, y que dios los tiene menospreciados, y ya para con ellos, esta hecho el deuer; porque vos señor, aveys cōplido, con vuestra dignidad, y oficio real..."

3. tlaçultitl[an]: the brackets enclose the completion of this word lost in a semicircular cut at the edge of fol. 69.

or two, the little of thy spirit.⁴ Thou hast not been formed as a man; our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath made thee speak, hath made thee open thy mouth. And here are the mothers, the fathers of the city, who put thee to the left, who put thee in obsidian sandals.

"O precious person, O our lord, it hath come forth, it hath sparked forth; the governed have heard it — the precious thing, the marvelous thing, the incomparable thing which the city guardeth, which [the citizens] take with them. Verily now, ye have inclined your hearts to the city; ye have provided for it. The motherhood, the fatherhood are rendered, are satisfied. Ye have done your duty to the city. And ye have warmed yourselves in the presence of the lord of the near, of the nigh.

"May the inhabitants of the city live bound to that which they have grasped, which they have taken. May they live thinking, reflecting upon their life span, their beginning, their decline.⁵ And may there thus be weeping, may there thus be encouragement when, having gone treading upon something, they have also slipped, they have also faltered.

"I have caused thee headaches, stomach pains. Pay heed. May our lord rest you in peace. And may you do your work, perform your office, give support to the lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind."

totecujo, in tloque, naoaque. Auh ca iz monoltitoque in jnanoan, in jtaoa, in atl, in tepetl in mjtzopuchtia in mjtztzactia:

tlaçotitlacatle, totecoc: ca oqujz, ca oalchiton ca oqujcacque in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj, in tlaçotli, in maviztic in anemjuhquj, in qujpialia in qujtqujlitoque in atl, in tepetl. A nelle axcan, otlacauhquj in amoiollotzin, ca oanqujmjtacatilique in atl, in tepetl: a ca opopouh, ca oixtlauih in naiotl, in taiotl: a ca oivic anmoqujxtique in atl, in tepetl: auh ca oammototonque in jixpantzinco in tloque, naoaque:

manoço ic onjlpitinemj in aoa in tepeoa, in oconan, in oconcuic ma conmatinemj, ma conjlnamjctinemj in jnemja, in jqujçaian, auh in juetzia: auh ma ic valchocaz, ma ic oalmellaquaoaz in oiquac itla ipan choloto, in no malauih, in no motecujnj.

A motzontecotzin a melchiqujuhtzin njqueoa: tle āqujmomachitia, ma amechmotlamatcatlalili in to°: auh ma ximotlacotilican, ma ximotequjttilican, ma xicmonanamjqujlican in tloq̄, in naoaque, in ioalli, in ehecatl.

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "y este tal tomado, y elegido de leyñador [sic], y hartolano [sic]: juzgue, y determjne, las causas, y sentēcie los crimjnes de muerte, y haga matar, a los culpados de crimen. Porque este tomo, y guardo dentro de si, las palabras de nuestro señor, y las puso por obra..."

5. In this passage, like the Nahuatl, the Spanish text, beginning in the singular number, appears to end in the plural. It reads: "o hombre, y señor nño precioso, aueys dicho, y todos an oydo los que estan presentes, las leyes, y consejos preciosos, y marauillosos, y raros que los tenjades guardados grandes mercedes, y grandes beneficios, aueys hecho a este pueblo, y a esta gente que los aueys hablado, como mñe y padres [sic] a sus hijos, aueys hecho el deuer para con vuestro pueblo, y los aueys declarado, y manjfestado los secretos de vños coraçones, y ellos an oydo, y rescebido: ruego a nuestro señor, que los sientan, y entiendan, y lo pongan por obra, adonde qujera que fueren, y estuuieren."



Seventeenth Chapter.¹ Here is related a very good discourse of admonition, which served as rules of conduct, with which the ruler advised his sons. When they were already mature, already having attained discretion, he urged them to abandon all the evil, the bad;² and to take firm hold upon the duties of nobility, the duties of rulership, and all the good, the fine.

"Come, O my sons. Take heed, for ye are my sons; for I am thy mother, I am thy father, I who for a brief moment, for a short time bring about errors, mistakes for the city. And as I guard for the inhabitants, I do that which is laughable, which is folly. And I govern poorly on the reed mat, the reed seat, the place of honor of the lord of the near, of the nigh.

"And here standest thou who art the oldest, the firstborn; and here art thou who art the second;³ and thou who followest; and thou who standest, who standest there, thou who art the youngest. Thus I weep, I am saddened, I am discontent when I reflect upon which one is my sluggard, which one my incoherent one.⁴

"And who will succeed? Who will show humility to our lord? Perchance yet one of you will gain as desert, will gain as merit, the realm, the governed. And perhaps not. Am I bringing it to a close? Is it perhaps all? Is it perhaps this way? Perhaps our lord,⁵ the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath declared it? The structure, my reed enclosure, which I put together, where I await the word of our lord, which was completed with difficulty, in misery — will it perhaps crumble, fall apart? Will the land be conquered? Will it become excrement here? Will it happen here? Will perhaps my glory, my renown disappear? Will I cause nothing of my memory to

le caxtolli omome capitulo, vncan moteneoa, cen-tlamātli cenca qualli, tenonotzaliztlatolli, nenemjiz-tilonj: injc qujnnonotzaia, ipilhoan tlatoanj: in jquac ie ixtlamati, ie tlacaquj, qujntlaquauhmacaia, injc qujtlalcahujzque, in jxqujch in aqualli, in naiectli. Auh injc qujtlauhtzitzqujzque, in piltequjtl, in tlatocatequjtl: auh in jxqujch qualli iectli.

Tla xioalhuja nopiloane, tla xiccaqujcan ca āno-piloan ca namonan namota in nehoatl in cucl achic in nachicacaujtl in naiuhcaiuatl in naiuhtlācaiuatl in njcchihujlia in atl in tepetl: auh in njqujntlapialia in naoaque in tepeoque in veuetzcaiutl in chocho-locaiuatl njcchioa: auh in tlaxoxopeoalitzli njcchihuj-lia in tloque naoaque in jpetlapan, in jcpalpan, in jmahujzōcan.

Auh ca iz tica in titeach in tiacapātli, auh ca iz tōca in titlacoieoa, auh in titlatoqujlia; auh iz tica ompa tica on in tixocoiutl, ic njchoca ic njtlaocuia ic njnntlamati in njqujlnamjquj ac ie in nomamjcca-tzin, ac ie in notōoacauh.

Auh ac ie in qujçaz in qujcnomatiz to⁵. cujx oc ce ameoā amocnopiltiz, amomaceoaltiz in petlatl in jcpalli, in tlatconj in tlamamalonj, auh cujx noço amo? cujx ça nocōtzacutica cujx ie ixqujch, cujx ie iuhquj, cujx oqujmjtalhuj in tocujo in tloque in naoa-que, cujx xinjz, cujx moiaoz in tlaieoalli, in nacatz-aqualli in nonjccacalo, in vncan njctlatolchielia tote-cujo, in naiaxcaiotica in cococaiotica omoiecahuji: cujx tlalli tepeuhtiez, cujx vncan nemanahujloz, cujx vñā iez, cujx polihujz, in notenio in nottauhca; cujx atle notlillo notlapallo njccauhtiaz, atle notenio ne-mjz in talticpac: cujx njnocēpolotiaz.

1. For an alternative translation of this chapter, see Angel María Garibay K.: *La literatura de los aztecas* (Mexico: Editorial Joaquín Mor-tiz, 1964: hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Literatura*), pp. 111-16.

2. Read in aiectli.

3. titlacioieoa: see Chap. 20, n. 1. In Chap. 17, the corresponding Spanish text refers to "el segundo."

4. nomamjccatzin, notōoacauh: literally, "my dead-handed one," "my dry-mouthed one." The corresponding Spanish text reads: "alguno de vosotros, a de salir inútil, y para poco, y alguno a de salir de poca habilidad, y que no sepa hablar..."

5. tocujo: read totecuyo.

remain, nothing of my glory to continue on earth? Will I cause my complete disappearance?

"Heed in what manner there is life on earth, in what manner compassion is secured of the lord of the near, of the nigh. It is only the weeper, the sorrower, who is required: he who sigheth, he who is anguished. And the devout one⁶ who showeth preference for, who welcometh, who giveth himself wholeheartedly, and who holdeth vigil for the sweeping, the cleaning, the ordering of things, is the pleasure of our lord; and he taketh care of, he taketh charge of the incense ladle, the offering of incense.

"In this manner there is entry near, nigh unto the lord of the near, of the nigh, where there is removing of secrets from his lap, from his bosom, and where he recognizeth one, showeth mercy to one, taketh pity upon one, causeth one to merit things, giveth one things. Perhaps he giveth one as desert, as merit, warriorhood—the eagle warriorhood, the ocelot warriorhood. There he taketh, there he recognizeth as his friend the one who addresseth him well, the one who prayeth well to him. He putteth him in charge of the military. In his hands he placeth the eagle vessel, the eagle tube.⁷

"This one becometh the mother, the father of the sun. He provideth those above us [and] those in the land of the dead with drink, with offerings.⁸ And the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors revere him; they make him their mother, they make him their father. [This] because in truth our lord of the near, of the nigh, hath said it, hath commanded it; not that [this one] hath done it himself, not that he hath arrayed himself.

"And perhaps he giveth him as desert, giveth him as a gift the realm, the governed. In his hand he placeth the blue water, the yellow water with which the vassals are bathed.

"And he placeth him to the left, he provideth him the obsidian sandals of the mother of the gods, the father of the gods, who resideth in the navel of the earth, who is set in the turquoise enclosure, [enclosed]

Tla xiccaqujca, quenjn nemoa tlalticpac, quenjn icnotlamachtilo, tloque naoaque: ca çan chocanj, tlaucuanj, moneq' elcicijhujnj, moteupoanj; auh tlaeumatinj qujxcauja qujcelia qujmotlaquauhmaca, yoan ixtoçoa in ochpanoaztli, in tlacujcuiliztli, in chico, tlanaoac tlaujqujliztli, in juelmach in totecujto: auh qujmocujtlaheja, qujmotequjtia ipan hiça in tlemaitl, in copaltemaliztli.

Ivihin, in jtloc, inaoac, necalaq'lo in tloq, naoaque: in vncan injc ixilan, in jtozcatlan maiaoa, auh in vncan teiximati, in vncan tetlaocolia, teicnoitta, tetlamaceoaltia, vncan tetlamamaca: aço oqujchiotl, quauhriotl, oceloiotl qujteilhujltia, qujtemaceoaltia; vncan cana, vncan qujximattia in jcnjuh, in uel qujnotza, in uel qujtlatlauhtia, qujpacholtia in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl, imac qujmanjlia, in quauhxicalli, in quappiaztl:

ichoatl tonatiuh inan ita muchioa: ieoatl teatlitia, tetlamaca in topā in mjctlan: auh ie acohujc, tlalchihujc qujtta in quauhtli in ocelutl qujmonantia, qujmotatia: ca nel oqujto ca oqujnaoati in tloque naoaque: ca amo moiucux, ca amo mochichih.

Auh anoce qujlhujltia, qujnemactia in petlatl, in jcpalli, in tlatconj in tlamamalonj; imac q'manjlia in matlatl, in toxpalatl, injc altilo in cujtlapilli, in atlalpalli,

copuchtia, qujtzcactia in teteu innā in teteu inta in tlalxicco onoc, in xiuhtetzaqualco maqujtoc, in xiuhtotoatica mjxtatzacujlitica in veve teutl in aiamjctlan in xiuhtecutli:

6. tlaeumatinj: read tlateomatini.

7. Ibid.: en estos ejercicios, y en estas obras, conoce dios qujen [sic] son sus amigos, y qujen ora, con deuocion, y les pone en las manos, oficios, y dignidades de la milicia, para derramar sangre e la guerra o de la judicatura, donde se dan las sentencias. . . .

8. Referring to topā in mjctlan, see ibid.: "los haze mañes, y padres del sol, para que ellos le den a comer, y a beuer, no solamente al sol, que esta encima de nosotros, pero tambien a los dioses del infierno, que estan debaxo de nosotros. . . ."

with the waters of the lovely cotinga, enclosed with clouds — Ueuetotl, he of Ayamictlan, Xiuhtecutli.⁹

"Perhaps he assigneth him [position] as Tlacatecutli, as a Tlacochtecucutli. And perhaps he giveth him some humble position of rule as merit, according as the positions are arranged in order; he maketh him one's mother, one's father, [positions] for which he is respected, revered. And perhaps he giveth him as desert, as merited, something which is quite precious, choice, of the rulership, of the government, such as what I now dream, what I see in dreams, which is not my desert, not my merit.¹⁰

"Perhaps our lord hath only taken me by mistake. Did I perchance array myself? Did I perchance do it on my own? Did I perchance say 'May I be this'? For it is the word of our lord; for mercy, compassion, is the property, the possession, of our lord; it cometh from him. For no one sayeth in vanity 'May I be this.' For no one merely taketh the governed upon himself. For our lord createth for one, disposeth for one; he dealeth with one of his own accord.

"And hear more. For this I weep, for this I am anguished, for this I am saddened, for this I am unhappy at midnight, at the parting of the night. Wherever my heart goeth, it sinketh, it riseth. I am not satisfied with any one of you, for not any one of you pleaseth me. Here art thou, the oldest. But in vain art thou the oldest, in vain art thou the firstborn. What is it with which thou leadest? For yet only babyishness, childishness, appeareth with thee; for thou exhibitest nothing to show that thou art the oldest, the firstborn.

at tlacatecutli, at tlacochtecucutli ipan quipoa auh at itla icnopetlatzintli, icpaltzintli qujmaceoaltia, injc motlatecpanjlia tenan, teta qujchioa, tlacamacho, acovic, tlalchivic itto. Auh anoce in çan tlaçoujtz, in çan tlaçoca in qujlhviltia, in qujmaceoaltia in tecujotl, in tlatocaiotl: in axcan njctemjquj, njccochitleo, in anolhvil, in anomaceoal,

at çan onechtlaneuj in totecujoc: cujx njnochichih, cujx njnoiocux: cujx njqujto, ma ne, y. ca itlatoltzin in totecujoc, ca tetlaocolilli, ca teicnoittaliztli: ca iaxcatzin, ca itlatqujtzin in totecujoc, ca ytechcopa vitz: caiaç çan qujmotenjtalhvica in ma nehoatl, yn, caiaç çan qujmocujlica in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj: ca moteiocolia ca moteimachilia in totecujoc ca motenomacavilia.

Auh ieh oc xiccaqujcan, ieh ynjc njchoca, ieh injc njnoteupoa, ieh injc njtlaocua, injc njnentlamati in tlacioioan, in ioalli xeliuj, in canjn nemj noiollo, in temo, in tleco. Ca amo ce namechvelitta, ca amo aceme annechiolpachiviltia: yz tica in titeach, auh tzonen titeach, tzonen tiacapantli: catli injc tiacatiuh, ca çan noma pillotl, coneiotl, in motech neci: ca atle ticnextia, injc titeach, injc tiacapantli:

9. Similar passages are found in Chaps. 4 and 9. The corresponding Spanish text in Chap. 17 reads: "que es el padre de todos los dioses, que reside en el alverque de agua, y reside entre las flores, que son las paredes almenadas, enboelto entre unas nubes de agua: este es el antiguo dios, que se llama aiamictlan, y xiuhtecutli..." The MS has been corrected by crossing out and substituting words; the original uncorrected part would seem to have read: "que reside en el hogar, y reside entre las flores agules [?], que son las llamas del fuego, esta entre [?] las [?] llamas agules, enboelto entre unas nubes de foego [?]..."

Garibay, in *Literatura*, p. 113, has thus translated the Nahuatl (versified): "...Padre de los dioses, Madre de los dioses./ El que está en el centro de la tierra./ el que está encerrado en encierro de turquesas./ en el estanque de agua de color azul./ el Dios Antiguo, de la Región de las neblinas de la muerte./ el dios del Tiempo [Xiuhtecuhtli]."

Eduard Selzer, in *Codex Borgia, eine altmexikanische Bilderschrift der Bibliothek der Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Berlin, 1904), Vol. I, p. 119, translates: "die Mutter der Götter, der Vater der Götter, der in dem Nabel der Erde wohnt, der in die türkisfarbene Steinpyramide eingeht, mit dem türkisvögel-farbenen Wasser das Gesicht umschlossen hat, der alter Gott,—der Herr des Türkises (oder der blaue Herr)....Für das aiamictlan der oben angeführten Stelle bieten sich zwei Erklärungen: — Es kann a-yamictlan, 'das Land wo man nicht stirbt,' und es kann ayam-mictlan, d. h. ayauhmicltlan, 'das Land der Nebel-toten,' heißen."

We separate *mixtatzacuilitica* into the elements *mix-tatzacuilitica*. *Mixtli* is cloud, but if the element *mix-* is to be derived from *mixxotl*, *mizoyotl*, or *mixtecucacuiltli* (battlement), it would account for the "paredes almenadas" of Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text. Selzer, however, in *Codex Vaticanus*, Nr. 3773 (*Codex Vaticanus B*), eine altmexikanische Bilderschrift der Vatikanischen Bibliothek (Berlin 1902), Vol. I, p. 108, suggests that the battlement is a representation of the clouds. Reading *mixtatzacuilitica* would favor Selzer's translation as cited above. For Selzer (*Codex Borgia*, loc. cit.), *ayamictlan* can mean "das Land wo man nicht stirbt" or "das Land der Nebel-toten."

In Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 323, Garibay defines *ayamictlan* as "Prob. no 'dominador de la región de los muertos,' sino 'el que está entre las nieblas del sitio de los muertos' (Ayauhmicltlan)."

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "O les da a merecer, alguna cosa preciosa, entre los senadores, y señores, como es el oficio, y dignidad, que agora, yo tengo, y uso, como soñado, y sin merecimiento mío, no mirado nro señor, quam poco yo merezco...."

"And here standest thou, thou who art the second; [and] thou who art the youngest. Thou hast only achieved being the second one. Thou hast only achieved being the youngest.¹¹ Dost thou depreciate thyself, dost thou fail for no reason? Our lord hath sent thee second, and [thee] last; wilt thou therefore depreciate thyself?

"Listen. And what will ye do on earth? To what purpose were ye born by one's grace? For ye were born by the grace of our lords, the lords, the rulers who have already gone beyond to reside;¹² for ye came to life, ye were born not among the herbs, in the woods.¹³ And what are ye to do? Are ye diligent with the staff, with the carrying frame? Do ye deal exclusively with ridges, with ditches? And are ye diligent with herbs, with wood?

"Hear ye: here is your task. Take care of the drum, the gourd rattle: ye will awaken the city, and ye will gladden the lord of the near, of the nigh. Therewith ye will seek his counsel, therewith ye will take from his lap, from his bosom; they are the prayers with which our lord is prayed to, the counsel with which one is counseled.

"And pay attention to artisanship, the art of feather working, the knowledge of things, that in time of suffering, when misery dominateth, [the artisanship] will be a rampart, a buttress,¹⁴ [so that] there is food, there is drink.

"And especially take care of the ridge, of the ditch. Plant and sow in the field. It will not be of thy doing, and thou wilt not grow the maize, thou wilt not nourish it.¹⁵ So went [saying] those who departed leaving you, the lords, the rulers, those by whose grace ye were born: they went caring for the ridges, for the ditches; they went planting in them. And they went sowing in the ridges; they went placing all [therein]. They went saying: 'Such [our ancestors] went giving us, such they went entrusting us.'

"They went saying: 'If thou dedicatest thyself exclusively to nobility, if thou plantest not in the

auh iz tica in titlacoeoa in tixocoiotl, ça cic titlacoeoa, ça cic tixocoiotl, çaçan timopopoloa, timotla-velcaoa? tlatlaco, auh tlacujtlapilco in mjtzoalioa totecujo: cujx yc timopopoloz?

Tla xiccaqujcan: auh tle amaizque in tlalticpac, ca nen tepaltzinco oanmotlacatiliue, ca oinpal antlatque in totecujoan, in ie nachca onmantiuj in tete-cuti, tlatoque, ca amo quijltitlan, ca amo quauhtitlan in oaiolque, in oantlatatque, auh tle amaizque? cujx ie ytlán amonauj in topilli, in cacaxtli: cujx ie an-conjxcavia in cuemjtl, apantli: auh cujx ie itlan amonauj in quijliti, in quaviti?

xiccaqujcan izca in amotequjuh, xicmocujtlavican in vevetl, in aiacachtli, anquixitizque in atl in tepetl: auh ancaviltizque in tloque, naoque ic anqujtlatoltemozque, ic ixillan, ytozcatlan amamaivizque ca itlaitlanjililoca, ca itlatoltemoloca in totecujo.

Auh xicmocujtlavican tultecaiotl, in amantecaiotl, in tlaiximachiliziotl, yn jcocoiaia in ie timalivi in jcnotecpillotl, oaltenantiz, qujoaltzacujz, ca qualonj, ca ioanj:

auh oc cenca ichoatl, xicmocujtlavican in cuemjtl, in apantli, ipan xitlatocan: auh xontlatepeoacan in mjlpan, ca amo mopan in iez: auh ca amo ticoapaoaz in tonacaiotl, ca amo tictlaqualtiz, ca iuh huj in amechcauhtivi, in jnpal anmotlacatiliue, in tete-cutin, in tlatoque, ca qujmocujtlavitivi, ca ipan tlatotivi, in cuemjtl, apantli: auh ca ontlatepeuhtivi in cuenco, muchi contlatitivi: ca conjtotivi, ca iuh techonmacativi, ca iuh techonpialitivi:

ca conjtotivi: Intla xoconjxcavi pillotl, intlaca ipan xontlato in cuemjtl, apantli: tle tictequaltiz, auh tle

11. ça cic: read çan acic.

12. onmantiuj: we derive this word from *mani*. Garibay, *Literatura*, p. 113, sees it as derived from *ana*.

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "mjrād que no descendís de hortolanos o de leñadores..."

14. oaltenantiz, qujoaltzacujz: cf. Chap. 43.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "mayormente que tengays cuydado, de las cosas de la agricultura, porque estas cosas la tierra, las cria no demandan que las den de comer, o de beuer, que la tierra tiene este cuydado de criarlas..." Garibay, *Literatura*, p. 114, thus translates the Nahuatl: "En la sementera sembrad y laborad: ¿no va a crecer por obra tuya y a medrar el maíz que tú has de comer?"

ridges, in the ditch, what wilt thou give one to eat? What wilt thou eat? What wilt thou drink? Where have I seen that one hath been sustained by nobility?"

"Note that the sustenance really favoresh us. Who is said to have called, to have named the sustenance, our bones, our flesh? For it is our nourishment, our being; it is the walking, the moving, the rejoicing, the laughing. The sustenance giveth them life; most truly it is said: one ruleth, one governeth, one conquereth. Where have I seen an empty-gutted one," a non-eater, who ruleth, who governeth? Where have I seen one without provisions who conquereth? Alone it is by sustenance that the earth endureth, that the world maintaineth life, that we replenish the world. The sustenance is our hope.

"And in the field plant the maguey, the nopal, the trees. The old men went saying [these] refresh the little ones. 'And thou, child, dost thou not also long for fruit? But how can it be there if thou dost not plant the field?'"

"Behold, with this my words come to an end. Guard them with your hearts. Place them in the chambers of your hearts. Inscribe them in your hearts. Not many, not numerous are the words. Where, in truth, will we reach? How much, in truth, might we say? Here, in some manner, are just two words worthy of being guarded, worthy of being remembered, which they left as they went, gave us as they went, entrusted to us as they departed, bequeathed to us as they went.

"The first word is to enter near to, nigh unto our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, the master, the night, the wind. Give him all thy heart, thy body. Let thy feet go not astray. And do not presume, do not repeat something within thyself, do not blaspheme in thy defiance; for our lord seeth, heareth within wood, within stone. And truly Moyocoya, Moquequeloa will wish something on thee.

"The second word is to live in peace with others. Be not a fool. Do not pant. May all people have thy esteem, thy respect. Do not offend one because of something. And also do not rise up against one for something. Do not act imprudently; let whatever is said be said of thee. Let thyself be destroyed in the manner in which thou art to be destroyed; do not return in kind. Be not as a serpent. Do not act imprudently, do not rise up against one, do not blow

ticquaz, tle tiqujz: can njqujttac pillotl ic omeuh, ic ococh:

xiccaqujcan in tonacaiotl, vel techcenmaceuh: ac mach qujto, ac mach qujtocaioti in tonacaiotl, in tomjo, in tonacaio, ca tonenca, ca toiolca: ca ichoatl in nenemj, ca ichoatl in molinja, ca ichoatl in paquj, ca ichoatl in vetzca, ca ich in nemj tonacaiotl: cenca nel onmjtoa, tecuti, tlatocati, tepeoa: can onjqujttac acujtlaxcolcoionquj, atlaquanj tecuti, tlatocati: auh can onjqujttac aytaque tepeoa. Ça ce in tonacaiotl ic man jn tlalli, ic ioltimanj in cemanaoatl, in cemanaoac titentimanj, tocentemach in tonacaiotl:

auh xontlatepeoacan in mjlpan in metzintli, in nopaltzintli, in quauhtzintli: conjtotivi in vevetque, qujntlaceviliz in pipiltzitzintli: auh ticonepul, amo no toconelevilia in xochiqualli: auh quen, vncã, o, haxontlatepeoa mjlpan?

Izcatquj ic ontzonqujça in notlatol xicmoiolotica, xicmopialtican, amoiollocaltitlan xictlalican, amoiollo itech xiqujcuilocan: amjec, aixachin tlatolli, can nel tacizque, quexqujch nel tiqujtoanj: çan izcatquj, quen ontentli in pialonj, in neiollotilonj, in concauh-tiaque, in techonmacatiaque, in techonpialtiteoque in techcauhtivi.

Injc cententli: itloc, inaoac ximocalaqujcan in tote-cujo in tloque, naoaque, in tlatatl in ioaalli in ehecatl: cenca xoconmaca in moiollo, in monacaio, ma nen chico ticquetz in mocxi: auh ma mjtictitlato, ma itla mjtictiqujto, ma tichicotlato monexiuh-tlatilco: ca quavitl, tetl yitic tlachia, tlaquaj in tote-cujo: auh ca nel moiocoia, ca moquequeloa, ytlamopan qujoalmonequjltiz.

Injc vncamatl: yvian tetloc, tenaoac ximonemjti, maca xixtomaoa, maca xica: ma muchi tlatatl mjtictil, mjmamacax: ma itla ic teixco, teicpac tinen: auh ma no itla ic teujc tehoa, ma atimotlatlamatcachiuh, ma xitolō, quenjn titoloz, ma ça iuh xipolivin, quenjn tipoliz, ma titecucupili: in mahan ticoatl, ma atimotlatlamatcachiuh, ma tevic teoa, ma titehecativivetz: çan motech xoconpacho, çan motech xoconmatelo, ca mjtiztzticac in totecujo: ca ichoatl mjtzt-

16. Lit., with no opening in the intestines.

as a violent wind against one. Just press him to thee; show mercy; for our lord is watching thee. He will show anger on thy behalf; he will avenge thee. Just live; already thou art guided; already thou art arrayed.

"The third word is: Do not waste time, and do not act uselessly on earth. Do not waste the night, the day; they are necessary for us even as our bones, our flesh, our strength, our sustenance. Sigh to, ask of our lord. And that which we hang from our necks, from our hips: ask it of our lord. Show forethought night [and] day. Do not be wasteful.

"Briefly, this is all with which I do my duty to you. Perhaps somewhere you will reflect; perhaps you will ignore it. Already you know that I have complied with my duty.

"And which one of you will profit? Thou who art the firstborn? Thou who art the oldest? Thou who art the second? Thou who art the youngest? Perhaps thou the sagacious one, perhaps thou the able one, perhaps thou the so-called divine-hearted, perhaps thou the divine-hearted person¹⁷ will grasp it, take it, cherish it, place it—inscribe it—in thy heart; for thou wilt profit by it, for thou wilt bless thyself, for thereby thou wilt live on earth."

motlaqualanjiz, ie motzoncujtzinoz. çan ximone-mjti ca ie tivico: auh ca ie tichichioalo.

Injc ecamatl: ma titlanemma, auh ma timonenema in tlalticpac, ma ticnenqujxti, in ceioal, in cemjlvitl, in mache totech monequj, in tomjo, in tonacaio, in tochicaoaca in tonacaiotl xiquelcicivi, xiqujtlanjli in totecujō: auh iehoatl in toquechtlan, in toquezpan in toconpiloa, xiqujtlanjli in totecujō, xontlalhujo in ceioal, in cemjlvitl: maca ximonenenciaoa.

O çan cucl ixqujch, y, ic njnoqujxtia in amovic: at cana ancontlatlaçazque, at anconahacaqujzque: ca ie amehoan anqujmati, ca onjnoqujxti:

auh ac te in tonmocneliz, cujx te in titeacapan, cujx te in titeach, cujx titlacoeoa, cujx noço tehoatl, in tixocoiotl: cujx te titlachixcatzintli, cujx te titlacacatzintli, cujx te (mjtoa) teutl moiollo, cujx te titlacateuiollocatzin, toconcuju, toconanaz, ticmopialtiz, moiollo itech tocontlaliz, toconjcuju: ca tonmocneliz, ca timotlaocoliz, ca ic tinemjz in tlalticpac.

17. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "como dixẽ seras adiujo, adiujo [sic] y entenderas los pensamientos, de los otros, y seras, como quien bele [sic] de lexos, las cosas, y las entiende: y las guarda, y escribe en su coraçon, sin dexirlas a nadie . . ."



Eighteenth Chapter.¹ Here it is related how the rulers admonished their daughters when they had already reached the age of discretion. Thus they urged them to prudence [and] virtue, public [and] private. They placed before them, revealed to them, the nobility, the government, the honor, that they should in no way blacken, dirty, discredit the lineage. Very good were the words with which they admonished them.

"Here art thou, thou who art my child, thou who art my precious necklace, thou who art my precious feather, thou who art my creation, my offspring, my blood, my color, my image. Now grasp, hear that thou hast come to life, thou wert born; that our lord of the near, of the nigh, the maker, the creator, hath sent thee to earth.

"And now that thou hast become knowledgeable, already thou observest how things are. There is no rejoicing, there is no contentment; there is torment, there is pain, there is fatigue, there is want; torment, pain dominate. Difficult is the world, a place where one is caused to weep, a place where one is caused pain. Affliction is known. And the cold wind passeth, glideth by. Most certainly on one the wind lesseneth the heat. And it is a place of thirst, it is a place of hunger. This is the way things are.²

"Hear well, O my daughter, O my child, the earth is not a good place. It is not a place of joy, it is not a place of contentment. It is merely said it is a place of joy with fatigue, of joy with pain on earth; so the old men went saying. In order that we may not go weeping forever, may not die of sorrow, it is our merit that our lord gave us laughter, sleep, and our sustenance, our strength, our force, and also carnal knowledge in order that there be peopling.

"All make life gay on earth in order that no one go weeping. And although it is so, although this is

Ic caxtolli omei capitulo, vncan moteneoa: in quenin tlatoque, qujnnonotzaia imjchpuchoan, in jquac ie ixtlamatia: injc qujntlaquauhmacaia in nezcaliliztli, in nemachiliztli in teixpan, in acanoçomo teixpan: imjxpan qujtlaliaia, qujmjtitaia in pillotl, in tlatocaiotl, in maviziotl: in ma itla ic qujtilloti, ic qujcatzauhti, ic qujçoloti in tlacamecaiotl: cenca qualli in tlatolli, injc qujnnonotzaia.

Ca njcan tonca, in tinopiltzin, in tinocoquj, in tinoquetzal, in tinotlacachioal, in tinotlatlacatililil, in tinezio, in tinotlapallo, in tinonejximachiliz: a axcan tla xiccuq, tla xiccaquj, ca otiiol ca otitlacat: ca omjtzalmjoalli in totecuj, in tloque, naoaque, in techioanj, in teiocioanj in tlalticpac.

An axcan ca ie timotlachialtia, ca ie titlachia injc iuhcan: ca amo avialo, ca amo vellamacho, ca toneuoa, ca chichinaco, ca tlaciauoa ca vmpa onqujça, timalivin toneviztli, in chichinaqujztli: aixcan in tlalticpac, techochoctican, teellelaxitican, cococ teupouhquj macho: auh itztic, cecec, checatl qujztoc mopetzcotoc: nelli mach in tetch cecevi in tonalli, in ehecatl, auh amjcooiaian, teuciooia: ça çan njman ie iuhca, y,

vel xiccaquj nochpuchtze, nopiltze: haieccan in tlalticpac, amo pacoaia, amo vellamachoaia: çan mjtoa ciahucapacoia, chichinacapacoia in tlalticpac, iuh conjtotivi in vevetque: injc amo cemjcac tichocatinemjzque, injc amo titlaoculmjqjzque in timaceoalti: iehoatl techmomaqujli in totecuj, in vetzqujztli, in cochiztli: auh ie in tonacaiutl in tochicaoaca, in tooapaoaca: auh iequene ie iehoatl in tlalticpacaiotl, injc nepixolo.

muchi qujvinti in nemjliztli in tlalticpac injc aiac chocatinemj. Auh maço iuhcan, y, maço nel ivi in

1. For other translations of the chapter, see Garibay, *Literatura*, pp. 117-22, and Miguel León-Portilla: "Consejos de un padre náhuatl a su hija," *América Indígena*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (October, 1961), pp. 339-43.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "o hija mja que en este mundo, es lugar de lloros, y afflicciones, y de descontentos, donde ay frios, y destemplaçes de ayre, y grandes calores del sol, que nos affige, y es lugar de hãbre, y de sed: esto es muy gran verdad, y por experiencia lo sabemos."

the way of life on earth, is it perhaps therefore heard, is it perhaps therefore feared, is life perhaps therefore lived in weeping? For there is living on earth; there is one's becoming a lord; there is one's becoming a ruler; there is one's becoming a nobleman; there is one's becoming an eagle warrior; there is one's becoming an ocelot warrior. And who is saying that this is how it is on earth? Who is just yielding to death? For there is the doing of things; there is the providing of a livelihood; there is the building of houses; there is labor; there is the seeking of women; there is marriage; there is the marriage of women to men; there is the marriage of men to women.

"And now, O my daughter, hear it well, look at it deliberately; for behold, here is thy mother, thy noble one. From her womb, from her breast thou wert chipped, thou wert flaked.³ It is as if thou wert an herb, a plant which hath propagated, sprouted, blossomed. It is also as if thou hadst been asleep and hadst awakened.

"See, hear, and know how it is on earth. May thou live, may thou just live, may thou continue a little. In what manner wilt thou live? In what manner wilt thou continue a little? They say the earth is a dangerous place, a fearsomely dangerous place, O my daughter, O dove, O little one.⁴ Know that thou comest from someone, thou art descended from someone; that thou wert born by someone's grace; that thou art the spine, the thorn, of our lords who went leaving us, the lords, the rulers who already have gone to reside beyond, those who came guarding the realm, and who came giving fame, who came giving renown to nobility.

"Hear this. Especially do I declare unto thee that thou art a noblewoman. If thou wert only to esteem thyself as a precious person!—This, even though thou art a woman. Thou art a precious green stone, thou art a precious turquoise. Thou wert cast, thou wert perforated. Thou art blood, thou art color, thou art a spine, thou art a thorn. Thou art one's hair, one's fingernail, one's chip, one's flake. And so now I say to thee: dost thou perchance not yet⁵ take much heed? Dost thou perchance pile up earth, potsherds? Art thou perchance on the surface of the ground [as a child]? For already thou hearest a

juh tlamanj, y, tlalticpac: cujx ic caco, cujx ic ne-mauhtilo, cujx ic chocatinemo, ca nemo in tlalticpac, tecutioa, tlatocatioa, piltioa, quauhtioa, ocelotioa: auh aqujn ça qujtotica ca iuhcan, y, in tlalticpac: aqujn ça momjqujzicocotica, ca tlaaioa, ca nemjltilo, necaltilo, tlatequjpanolo: auh necioatlanjlo, nena-mjctilo, neucchotilo, tlapaliuhcatioa.

Auh in axcan nochpuchtze: tla vel xiccaquj, tla xiqujvianjtta: ca iz vnca in monantz in motecuiotzin, in jxillan, in jtozcatlanpa otizicueoac, otitlapan: in mahan tixiuhtzintli, yn mahan tiqijltzintli: otioalixeoac, otixotlac, oticuepon: in mahan noce otiochia, otioalixac:

xitlachia, xitlacaquj: auh xitlamati, iuhcan, y, in tlalticpac, ma tinen, ma ça tinen, ma achi tictoca, quenjn tinemjz, quen achi tictocaz: mach vel ovican in tlalticpac, tetzauh ovican nochpuchtze, cocotze, tepitze, xicmati, ca tetechcopa tivitz, ca tetechcopa otimoqujxti, ca otepaltzinco timotlacatili, ca tinvtizio, ca timaoaio in totecujaoan in techmocavilitivi in tete-cutin, in tlatoque, in ie nachca onmomanjltitivi, in oqujpiaco in petlatl, in jcpalli: auh in oqujteiotico, in oqujtauhcaiotico in pillotl.

Xiccaquj, tla ça cenca njmjtzmelavili ca tipilli, intla çan ximotta titlaçotli, y, maço ticioatzintli, tichalchivitl, titeuxivitl, tipitzaloc, timamalioac, teziotl, titlapallotl, tivitziotl, taoaiotl, titetzon, titeizti, titetzicueuhca, titetlapanca: auh injc axcan njmjtzilvia, cujx cenca aia ticmocaqujtia cujx nelli mach tlalli, tapalcatl ticololoa, cujx tlalli ixco tica, ca ie quenteltzin timotlacaqujtia, timotlachialtia: ma çan monevian tonmjçolo, ma ytlā ic tiqijnmopinauhtili in totecujaoan in tete-cutin, in tlatoque, in techmocavilitivi: ma timaceoalti, ma timomaceoalqujxti:

3. Ibid.: "de cuyo vientre saliste, como una piedra que se corta de otra..."

4. Ibid.: "es menester que sepas como as de biuir, y como as de andar tu camjno, porque el camjno deste mundo, es muy dificultoso..."

5. aia: the MS may read nia.

little, thou beholdest a little.⁶ Do not, just of thy own accord, bring dishonor upon thyself. Do not in something cause embarrassment to our lords, the lords, the rulers who have gone leaving us. Do not be a commoner; do not lower thyself.

"Thus art thou to conduct thyself on earth among others, for verily thou art a little woman. Here is thy task which thou art to do: be devout night and day. Sigh many times unto the night, the wind. Plead with, speak to, cry out to him, stretch out thine arms to him, especially at thy reclining place, at thy sleeping place. Do not practise the pleasure of sleep; awake and arise promptly; awake with a start, at the parting of the night; support thyself on thy elbows, thy knees; arise promptly, make thy bow, incline thy head. Speak to, cry out to the master, our lord, to him of the night, the wind, for he rejoiceth to hear thee by night, and then he will show compassion to thee, he will give thee that which is thy desert, thy merit.

"And thy desert, thy merit, which thou wert given in the beginning, with which thou wert arrayed, into which thou camest to life, into which thou wert born: if it was not good, at this time it will be made good, it will be made favorable. The master, our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, will change it."

"And at night hold vigil, arise promptly, extend thy arms promptly, quickly leave [thy bed] soft, wash thy face, wash thy hands, wash thy mouth. Seize the broom: be diligent with the sweeping; be not tepid, be not lukewarm. Wash the mouths [of the gods]; especially do not neglect the offering of incense, for thus is our lord petitioned; it is the means by which his mercy is requested.

"And when it is so, when thou hast made preparations, what wilt thou do? What wilt thou seize upon as thy womanly labors? Is it perhaps the drink, the grinding stone? Is it perhaps the spindle whorl, the weaving stick? Look well to the drink, to the food: how it is prepared, how it is made, how it is improved; the art of good drink, the art of good food, which is called one's birthright. This is the property of — it belongeth to — the lords, the rulers.

yvin in timonemjtiz in tlalticpac, in tetloc, in tenaoac, ca nel ticioatzintli. Izcatquj in motequjuh in ticchioaz: in ceiooal, in cemjlvitl xitlateumati, mjiicpa ivictzinco xelcicivi in iooalli, in checatl: xictlailtlanjli, xicnotza, xictzatzili, ivictzinco ximaçoa: oc cenca in movetzian, in mocochian, ma ca velic cochiztli xicchiuhto, xiçateoa, ximocujtiuetzi in iooalli xelivi, momolicpi, motetepon, ic xitlacça, ximeuhtiqujça: motolol momalcoch xicchioa, xicnotza, xictzatzili in tlatcatl, in totecujō: in iehoatzin in iooalli, in checatl, ca mahaviltitzinoā in ioaltica mjtzcaqujz: auh vncan mjtzcinoittaz, vncan mjtzmaz in tlein molhvil momaceoal.

Auh intlaca qualli, molhvil, momaceoal in ioaian timacoc, injc tâpanoc, in jpan tijol, in jpan titlacat: vncan qualtiaz, iectiaz, qujmocuepiliz in tlatcatl, in totecujō, in tloque, naoaque:

auh iooalli xiqujtzto, ximeuhtiqujça, ximaçouhteoa, xipoxoiuhteoa, ximjxamj, ximomatequj, ximocamapaca, xicujtivetzi in ochpanoaztli in ochpanalli, itlan xaquj: maca xiāmanjxto, maca xitotonjxto, xitecamapaca: oc cenca iehoatl in tlenamactli, ma ticxiccauh, ca ic tlaitlanjlilo in totecujō, ca itlaoculnonotzaloca.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otimocencauh: ca tlein ticchioaz, ca tlein toconcujtivetiz mocioatequjuh: cujx ie in atl, in metlatl, cujx ie in malacatl, in tzotzopaztli: vel xiqujtta in atl, in tlaqualli, in quenjn iecavi, in quenjn muchioa, in quenjn iectia: quenamj in qualli atl, in qualli tlaqualli, quenamj in mjtoa tetonal: inin ie iehoatl in jmaxca, in jntech pouhquj in totecujōan, in tlatoque, injc mjto moteneuh, tetonal, tlatoca tlaqualli, tlatoca atl, tecpillaqualli, mjmati

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "esto que te digo hija mja, bien lo entiendes porq̃ ya no andas amontonado la tierra, y burlando con las texuelas, y cō la tierra con otras nñas: que ya entiendes, y tienes discrecion, y vsas de razon..."

7. Ibid.: "Y si por uentura ante del principio del mundo, se fue dada alguna sinjstra ventura algun hado contrario, en que naciste, orādo, y haziendo penjtencia, como esta dicho se mejorara, y nuestro señor dios lo abonara..." The phrase in ioaian — the time of darkness — is translated as "in the beginning"; the meaning can be appreciated in a passage in the account of the creation of the sun: "Mitōa, in oc ioaian, in aiamo tona, in aiamo tlathui" — "It is told that when yet [all] was in darkness, when yet no sun had shone and no dawn had broken." Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, Book VII, "The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years," p. 4.

Thus it is called, it is named, one's birthright, the food of rulers, the drink of rulers, the food of noble-men, the choice drink, the choice food.⁸ Look with diligence, open well thine eyes, apply thyself well to how it is done, for thus thou wilt live and thus thou wilt acquire things, and thus thou wilt be loved, even if it is doubtful, undetermined where our lord assigneth thee.

"If perhaps already the misery of the nobility dominateth, look well, apply thyself well to the really womanly task, the spindle whorl, the weaving stick. Open thine eyes well as to how to be an artisan, how to be a feather worker; the manner of making designs by embroidering; how to judge colors; how to apply colors [to please] thy sisters, thy ladies, our honored ones, the noblewomen.⁹ Look with diligence; apply thyself well as to how heddles are provided; how leashes are provided, how the template is placed. Take care not to fail to know, not to lose through neglect, not to lose through carelessness.

"Now is the opportune time, and it is yet a good time. Thy heart is yet a precious green stone, yet a precious turquoise. It is still keen; nothing defileth it; it is still untouched, nowhere twisted, still virgin, pure, undefiled.

"And we are still here, we who have had great regard for thee. Wilt thou perchance say, thou who art our child, 'I make myself, I form myself'? It was our affair; we have suffered for thee; but thus the world endureth. Was it perhaps so ordained? For our lord declared, determined the propagation, the multiplication [of man] on earth.¹⁰

"We are still here; it is still our time. The club, the rock of our lord fall not yet. And not yet do we die, not yet do we perish. Take heed, O my youngest, O dove, O little one.

"When our lord hath hidden us, thou wilt live by the grace of others. The herbs, the wood, the strands of chili, the cakes of salt, the nitrous soil are not thy desert, not thy gift, [nor] art thou to frequent another's entrance, because thou art a noblewoman. Pay good attention to the spindle whorl, the weaving stick, the drink, the food.

atl, mjmatai tlaqualli: vel xommjxti, vel xonmjxtza-iana, vel xommopacho, in quenjn chioalo: ca ic timonemjtiz, auh ca ic timotlalpializ. Auh ic titlaçotiz, intla ça nen hanciccol, cana mjtzmopovili totecujio:

in at ie timalivi icnotecpillotl: auh ic ichoatl vel xiqujttla, vel xonmopacho, in vel ic cioatequjtl in malacatl, in tzotzopaztli: vel xonmjxtzaiana, quenjn tultecati, quenjn amantecati, quenjn tlatlamachicujloa, quenjn tlatlapalpoa, quenjn tlatlapalaquja, in mopitzitzioan, in motecujiotzitzioan, in totecujioan, in civapipilti: quenjn nexiutito, quenjn nequatzomalo, quenjn neoctacatilo, vel xonmjxti, vel xonmopacho ma timonenma, ma timonencauh: auh ma timoxiccauh,

axcanpa qualcan: auh oc qualcan, ca oc chalchiviti, ca oc teuxiviti in moiollo, ca oc itztica, caiatle qujtlacoa, ca oc qujztica, ca aia canpa itzcalivi, ca oc motqujtica, ca oc macitica, aiatle neneliuhquj.

Auh ioan oc toncate in tehoantin in mache otimjtz-veipouhque: cujx ticmjtalhvia in titoconetzin ma njnochioa, ma njtlacati: ca tehoantin totlatlacul, ca tehoantin otimjtztohinque; ca tel yc tlaman jn tlat-ticpac, cujx iujtolo: ca oqujmjtalhvi, ca oqujmotla-lili in totecujio, in nexinacholoz, in netlapivilo tlat-ticpac:

oc toncate, oc tomatian, oc ic aia oalvetzi in jquauh-tzin, in jtetzin totecujio: auh aiamo tonmjquj, aiamo tonpolivi, cenca tle ticmomachitia noxocoiove, cocotze, tepitzintle.

In otechtlati totecujio: ic tepaltzinco timonemjtiz, ca amo molhvil, ca amo monemac in qujliti, in quavitl, in chilçolotl, in iztatapacatl, in tequjxqujtlal-tzin tequjaoatlan ticquequetzaz ca tipilli, ie vel xonmjxti, yn, in malacatl, in tzotzopaztli, in atl, in tla-qualli.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "deprende muy bien a hazer la buena comjda, y buena beujda, que se llama comer, y beuer delicado, para los señores, i a solos ellos se da, y por esto se llama tetonal tlatocallaqualli, tlatocatl, que qujere dexir comjda, y beujda delicada, que a solos los señores, y generosos les conviene. . ."

9. Ibid.: "para que digan bien, los que son señoras, y habiles, en esta arte. . ."

10. Ibid.: "yo y tu madre, tuujimos este cuydado, y te heximos, porque esta es la costumbre del mundo, no es invencion de alguno, es ordenacion de nuestro señor Dios, que aia generacion, por via de hombre, y de muger, para hazer multiplicacion, y generacion. . ."

"Perhaps there will happen that which is not conceivable, that which is not expressible. Someone will select thee, will speak for thee. If [thou art] unable in anything, how will it be? It will not for this reason be thrown in our faces. And if our lord hath hidden us, there will be no murmuring against us therefor in our absence; we will not be chidden therefor in the land of the dead. And thou wilt not move, thou wilt not separate condemnation from thyself.

"But if already thou payest attention to the same, wherefrom cometh the reprehension? To a purpose thou wilt glorify thyself by one's grace, thou wilt esteem thyself, thou wilt be proud. It is as if thou wert to be of the order of eagles, of the order of occlots. Well art thou to assume thy shield;¹¹ may possibly all the little shields rest in thy hand.

"Also there, because of thee we will raise up our heads; thou wilt render us honor. But if thou dost nothing well, perhaps it will not be said of thee that thou art without lice. Seldom wilt thou bathe.¹² And which of the two ways will our lord wish for thee?

"Especially note that which I say to thee, that which I cry out to thee. Thou art my creation, thou art my child. Take special care that thou not dishonor our lords from whom thou art descended. Cast not dust, filth upon their memory. May thou not dishonor the nobility with something.

"May thou not covet carnal things. May thou not wish for experience, as it is said, in the excrement, in the refuse. And if truly thou art to change thyself, wilt thou become as a goddess? May thou not have quickly destroyed thyself. Yet calmly, with special care, present thyself well.

"If it so please our lord, if someone so will demand, will speak for thee, thou art not to reject, to kick away the spirit of our lord. Take him. Thou art not to refuse; thou art not to retreat twice, not to retreat thrice; thou art not to resist.

"Although we are the parents, and although thou art born of goodly parents, thou art not to overesteem it; thou wilt offend our lord. For that he will pelt thee with dust, refuse, debauchery; [and] this same one will delude, will be capricious.

Iz a ça nen o, hanciol, aioc tlacatencopa, aca mjtz-mapilhviz, motech tlatoz: intlacatle veli, quen nenti? amo ic tioalixmotlaloque: auh intla otechmotlatili totecujo, amo ic tonteputzcomonjloque, amo mic-tlampa ic tonaiozque. Auh in tehoatl: amo quaviti, amo tetl ticmolinjiz, motlan ticmjquanjiz:

auh intla ic vel xonmjxti, no vncan, o, can vitz teaujztli, amo cenca nen tepaltzinco timotitimalotiez, timjxpatlauhtiez, tahatlamattiez: iuhqujnma quappetlapan, ocelopetlapan tiez, vel ticmamantiez in mochimal, acch in ma ixqujch teveveli in momac manjz:

no vncan o, mopaltzinco tioaltotzonteconacocujz-que, titechjxpatlaoaz: auh ic tla catle vel ticchioa, ach atitetemjtl, a ie te in mjtoa, aiachca timaltiz: auh tla ça quen mjtznequjlia in totecujo, in jpan jn ontla-mantli.

Oc cenca: izcatquj ic njmjtznotta, ic njmjtztatzilia in tinotlacachioal, in tinopiltzin: ma cenca tle ticmati, ma tiqumavilqujxti in totecujoan, in jntechpa timoqujxti, ma teuhitli, tlaçulli ipan ticpixo in jntlillo, in jntlapallo, in pillotl ma itla ic ticavilqujxti:

ma çan cucl tontlaelevi in talticpac, ma çan cucl tontlamatiznec, in mjtoa, in cujlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan. Auh tla nel timocuepaz: cujx titeutiz, ma ie timjciuhcapolo, oc moiolic, oc cenca moiolic, vel ximoquetza:

intla iuh motlamachitiz totecujo, intla aca, iuh qujmjtalhviz, motech tlatoz: ma ticlatlaz, ma tixxopeuh in jhiioztin totecujo: xicmacuj amo timocujliz: amo ontlacxioaz: amo hetlacxioaz, amo timocujcujltiez:

in maço tehoantin in tipilhoaque, auh in maço tepaltzinco timotlacatili: amo ticpopouhtiez, ticmoliolitalcalviz in totecujo, ic mjtzmotlaz in teuhitli, in tlaçulli in avilnemjiziotl: çan no ichoatl moquequeloz, monenequjz:

11. Ibid.: "entonce con razõ seras loada, y honrrada, y tẽdras presumpcion, y te estimaras como si estuujeses, en los estrados de los que por sus hazãas en la guerra, mereciẽrõ hõrra: presumjras de la rodela como los buenos soldados..." For the meaning of quappetlapan, ocelopetlapan, see Chap. 43.

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "y si por uentura no hizieres nada bien, de lo que has de hacer, maltratarle ã, apalearle an, y por ti se dira que con dificultad, se labaras, o que no tendras tiempo, para rascar la cabeza." On titechjxpatlaoaz, see Chap. 43.

"Do not trade, do not deal as if in the market place. And do not, as in the summertime, go selecting the best." Do not languish from desire. Howsoever he may be — perhaps truly upstanding or perhaps only in any manner — do not reject the one sent of our lord. If thou dost not consent thou wilt be ridiculed, for truly he deludeth, he will turn thee into a harlot.

"But meanwhile present thyself well, look well to thine enemy that no one will mock thee. Give thyself not to the wanderer, to the restless one who is given to pleasure, to the evil youth. Nor are two, three to know thy face, thy head. When thou hast seen the one who, together with thee, will endure to the end, do not abandon him. Seize him, hang on to him even though he be a poor person, even though he be a poor eagle warrior, a poor ocelot warrior, even though he be a poor warrior, or a poor son, or one who struggleth for existence. Do not detest him therefor. Our lord, the wise one, the maker, the creator, will dispose for you, will array you.

"This is all I give thee of my word to comply with my duty unto, before our lord. Perhaps somewhere thou wilt reject it. Thou knowest it. Meanwhile, I do my duty. O my daughter, O my child, O dove, O little one, pay close heed. May our lord rest thee in peace."

in ma çan tianquijzco, ma titlapatla, ma titlatennotz: auh in ma çan xopan, ma timotlatlatliti, ma tihiculmjc: in quenamjcatzintli in at vel ihicac, in at noço çan quenamjcatzintli: ma ticmaxopeuh, ma ichoatl, ca itlaioaltzin in totecujó: intlaca xocia moca onmaviltiz, ca nel moquequeloa, mjtzonavianjcuepaz.

Auh iece vel ximoquetza, vel xiqujta in moiaouh, amo ac moca maviltiz: amo ticmomacaz in anenquj, in qujqujça, in mahaviltia, in telpuchtlavelilloc: amo no ome, ey, mjcico, mocpac matiz: in otiqujtac yn aqujn amjoan, amoneoan anmopolivitzque: ma ticcauh xictzitzquj, itech ximopilo, ma nel icnotlacatl, ma nel icnoquauhtli, icnoocelutl, ma nel icnotiacauh, in anoço icnotepiltzin, in aço ie tlaciauj, ma ic tiqujhix: ca amechmjmachiliz, amechmochichiviliz in totecujó, in tehimatinj, in teiocoianj, in techichioanj.

O yxqujch in in njmjtzonmaca, in noten, in notlatol: injc ivictzinco, xpantzinco njnoqujxtia in totecujó: aço cana tocontlatlacz, ca ie tehoatl ticmati: iece ca nonequjxtil njcchioa. O nochpuchtze, nopiltze, cocotze, tepitze, tle ticmatcatzintli, ma mjtzmotlatmatcatlalili in totecujó.

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "mija que no escoias entre hombres, el que mejor te parece, como hazen los que van a comprar, las mantas al tianquez o mercado..."



Nineteenth Chapter. Here it is told how, when the father had spoken, the mother then replied. And with very tender words she told her daughter to guard well, to place well within her, the words of her father; to consider them as precious, as costly. And she told her how to live well, how to present herself, how to speak, how to look at one, how to walk, and how not to interfere in another's life, and how not to abuse another. This discourse especially should be memorized, if it is to be used for instruction, for it is a very good discourse; but that which is not necessary is to be changed. It is especially useful for the youths, for the maidens.

"O dove, little one, child, my daughter, thou hast taken, thou hast grasped the spirit of thy child,¹ the master, thy lord. Thou hast taken the incomparable, the ungivable, which lieth inert, which lieth folded on his lap, in his breast.² But thou art not mistaken for another, for thou art the blood, the color, the reflection of the master. Although thou art a woman, thou art his image.

"And of this, what more shall I say? What more shall I tell thee? In what manner shall I yet offer to thee? For his words are ended; for he hath everywhere caused thee to live well, for he hath everywhere brought things to thee. Nothing hath he left out.

"And I say only this; I do my obligation. Nowhere reject the spirit, the words of thy lord, for they are precious, wonderful; for only as precious things do the spirit, the words of our lords come forth. For they are the words of rulers; for they are considered as precious green stones, as round, reed-like precious turquoises.

"Take them, guard them, place them by thy heart, inscribe them on thy heart. If thou art to live, with

le caxtolli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtóa, in quenjn iquac oontlato teta: njman ichoatl tlananj-liaia. in tenantzin: auh cenca iamancatlaltollica qujlviaia in jmjchpuch, injc vel qujpiaz, injc vel ijtic qujtlaliz, in jtlatl in jtatzin: vellaçotli necujltonolli ipan qujmatiz. Auh qujlviaia in quenjn vel nemjz, in quenjn moquetzaz, in quenjn tlatoz, in quenjn teittaz, in quenjn nenemjz: auh in quenjn amo qujmocujtlaviz in tenemjliz: ioan in quenjn amo techicoitoz. Injn tlatolli oc cenca vel neiollotilotlozquja, intla ic temachtilonj, ca cenca qualli in tlatolli: tel mocuecuezpaz, in tlein amo monequj: cenca intech monequj in telpupuchti, in jchpupuchti.

Hotzin cocotzin, tepitzin, conetzin, nochpuchtzin: ca otoconmocujli, ca otoconmanjli yn ihijotzin in moconetzin. in tlatatl in motecujotzin: otoconcuyc in anemjuhquj, in atemaconj, yn jxillantzinco, in jtozcatlantzinco cepoatoc, cuelpachiuhtoc: ca tel amo mjtzmotlanevilia, ca tiezio, ca titlapallo, ca tineiximachiliz in tlatatl: maço ticioatzintli, ca tixiptla.

Auh injn tlein oc njqujtoz, tlein oc njmjtzilhviz: quen oc mach ie amj in njmjtzmacaz, ca oontlatatlan yn jtlatlaltzin, ca onovian mjtzonmonemjtli, ca onovian mjtzonmahaxitili, caoctle oqujmocavitzino.

Auh injn, çan jxqujch noconjtoa, nonequjxtil njcchioa: ma cana toconmotlatlaxilili in jhijotzin, in jtlatlaltzin motecujotzin: ca tlaçotli, ca maviztic: ca çan tlaçoqujça in jmjhijo, in jntlatol totecujoan: ca nel noço tlatocatlatolli, ca iuhqujn chalchivitl, ca iuhqujn teuxivitl ololivic, in acatic ipan momati:

xicuj xicmopialti, moiollo itech xictlali, moiollo itech xiqujcujo: intla tinemjz, ichoatl ic titlacazcal-

1. The father is meant. Reference to the father as *moconetzin* is somewhat clarified by an analysis of forms of address in Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Gliederung des alt-aztekischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf*, Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen, V, ed. Gerdt Kutscher (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), pp. 3-4. — Carochi, *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, p. 408, notes that "*Las mugeres no usan desta e. en el Vocativo, pero leuantan mucho la postrera syllaba...*"

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*as oydo las palabras preciosas, y que raramente se dizen, nj se oyen: las quales an procedido de las entrañas, y coraçon en que estauan athesoradas...*"

them thou wilt instruct, thou wilt indoctrinate [thy] children. Thou wilt give them to others; thou wilt tell them to others.

"And behold a second word which I give thee, which I say to thee, my child, little one. Look to me, for I am thy mother. I carried thee for so many months. And when they were ended I was lulling [thee] to sleep. I was laying thee in the cradle; I was placing thee on my thigh. And certainly with my milk I gave thee strength.

"Thus I say this, for we are thy mothers, we are thy fathers who speak to thee, who cry out to thee. Take our words; grasp them, guard them. In order that thou wilt live prudently, thou art not to clothe thyself [excessively]. Thou art not to place on thyself finely worked clothing, replete with design, for it achieveth gaudiness. Nor art thou to take rags; thou art not to place on thyself the goods, the property of the vassals, for it achieveth ridicule. In moderation art thou to clothe thyself, not in gaudiness, in vanity.

"And thy speech is not to come forth hurriedly. As thou art to speak, thou art not to be brutish, not to rush, not to disquiet. Thy speech is to come forth in tranquility and with gentleness. Thou art not to lift up nor to lower much [thy voice]. As thou art to speak, as thou art to address one, as thou art to greet one, thou art not to squeak. Thou art not to murmur. Straight forward is thy speech to come forth; in medium voice is it to come forth; nor art thou to make it fanciful.

"And when thou art to travel [do it] also prudently. Thou art not to travel in great haste, nor art thou to amble; for [to amble] achieveth pompousness; [haste] meaneth restlessness. Thou art to go deliberately; thou art only to move thy feet along the road. But when thou findest it necessary, go swiftly, use discretion. Jump at thy jumping place in order that thou wilt not become a fat one, an inflated one.

"And as thou art to go, as thou art to travel the road, as thou art to come upon the road, thou art not to bow thy head, nor art thou to raise thy head in pride; it meaneth ill-breeding. Thou art to go straight forward. Also, thou art not to act shamefully, nor to cover thy mouth. In no way art thou to stare, nor to appear like a firefly. Travel with utmost tranquility. And go, follow the road, with utmost tranquility.

tiz, ic titlacaoapaoaz, tictemacaz, tictelhviz.

Auh izcatquj ic oncamatl, njmjtzmaca, njmjtzilvia noconetzin, tepitzin: xinechitta ca nehoatl in njmonan, in onjmjtzitqujc in quezquj metztli: auh in omotlan njcochiaiaticatca, in onjmjtcocoçoltecac, in onometzpan njmjtztlatlalticac: auh in quemeca naioiotica onjmjtznotetzavili:

ic njqujtoa, yn, ca timonanoan, ca timotaoan in timjtznotza, in timjtztatzilia: ma xicuj, ma xicana in totlatol, ma xicmopialti. Injc timonemjtiz, çan nematquj, amo motech tictlaliz: amo motech tictlaliz in tlamachio, in moca tlamachtli, ca topallotl caci: amo no ie motzotzotzoma ticcuuj, amo motech tictlaliz in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, in jaxcatzin, in jtlatqujtzin, ca tlaquequeloliztli caci, çan ipan qualli in motech tictlaliz: amo ie in topallotl, in xancaiotl.

Auh in motlatol: amo yciuhca qujçaz, amo timj-tonjz, amo timjcilviz, amo timamanaz injc titlatoz: çan moiolic, auh çan yiolic qujçaz in motlatol: amo ticacocujz, amono cenca tictlalchitlaçaz: amo tipipitzcaz injc titlatoz, injc titenotzaz, injc titetlapaloz: amo tiqujqujntlatoz, çan vel melaoac qujçaz in motlatol, tlanepantla qujçaz, amo no tictlatlamachiz.

Auh in monenemjliz iez: çan no nematquj: amo cenca ticxitotocaz, amo no cenca çan tiaiatiaz: ca tlaquecinoliztli caci, ca cuecuetziotl qujtoznequj: çan ijolic in tiaz, çan oiaticaz in mocxi: auh ma no iecen ticcuuj, in jmonecian xitzitzicujcatinemj, ximocâcaquj, hamocholoaian, in xicholo: injc amo teti-capul, tixocotexpul timocuepaz.

Auh injc tiaz, injc totlatocaz, injc vtli ticnamjqujz: amo titoloz, amo no taquetzaz: ca anezcalicaiotl, qujtoznequj: çan vel titlamelauhcaicatz, amo no tipipinaoaz, amo no timotetenqujmjloz, amo quecin titlatlachiaz, amo no tixoxotlamatz: cenca moiolic in xinenemj, auh cenca moiolic in xiauh, in xotlatoca.

"And next behold, in truth thou art of the nobility. As thou art to go, thou art not to look here and there, not to look from side to side, not constantly to look upward, nor art thou to be a hypocrite.³ Nor art thou to put hatred in thine eyes; thou art not to put hatred in thy face. Look joyously at everyone. And also, that no one will have occasion to despise thee, put anger in the spirit at the proper time. And behold, never concern thyself with words; let what is said be said. Do not speak with others; pretend that thou dost not hear it. With thee will the words end.

"And never long for, never desire the color, the cosmetics, the darkening of the teeth,⁴ the coloring of the teeth, the coloring of the mouth; for they denote perverseness, they mean drunkenness. That is the property of the restless ones, the dissolute ones, the evil women; that is the domain of those who have become drunk, those who have wasted the earth; that is the work of those who go drinking, who go eating jimson weed; that is the way of life of those who go drinking crude pulque. These are the ones called harlots.

"But in order that thy helpmate will not hate thee, pay attention to thyself, bathe thyself, wash thyself, but only when necessary, lest it were to be said of thee, lest thou wert to be called Tepepetzton,⁵ Tinemachxoch.⁶

"Behold the road thou art to follow. In such a manner thou art to live. Thy lords, our lords, the noble women, the old women, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones reared us in such a manner as this. Did they perhaps leave so very much? For they gave one, they left, they said only a word; few were their words. "Take heed. On earth it is a time for care, it is a place for caution. Behold the word; heed and guard it, and with it take your way of life, your works. On earth we live, we travel along a mountain peak. Over here there is an abyss, over there is an abyss. If thou goest over here, or if thou goest over there, thou wilt fall in. Only in the middle doth one go, doth one live."

"Place this word, my daughter, dove, little one, well within the chambers of thy heart. Guard it well.

Auh njman ie izcatquj ca nel titecpiltzintli: injc tinemjz, amo avic titlachiaz, amo tinanacatzlachiaz, amo mjsxquatitlanpa titlatlachiaz, amo no ie titoloxochton tiez, amo no tictlatlavellaliz in mjsxtelolo: amo tictlavelmanaz in moxaiac, muchi tlatatl xicpac-caitta: auh in no ieh ic aiax moxictiz, in jmonecian xictlavelmana in jhijotl. Auh izca ioan, ma ica timotlatolcujcujtlavi, ma ie itolon, tlein itolo: maca tehoan xontlato, maca no xicmocaccanenequj: te motech ontzopiz in tlatolli.

Auh ma ica tiquelevi, ma ica ticnec in tlapalli, in nechichioalli, in tlamjaoalli, in netlantlapalviliztli, in necamatlapalviliztli: ca anencaiolt qujnezcaciotia, ca yvintiliztli qujtoznequj: hanenque, cuecucueti, cioatlavelliloque intlatquj o: oyvintique, oqujpолоque tlalli imaxca o: mjsxitl, tlapatl qujtinemj, qujquatinemj ynteq'uh o: xoxouhcaoctli qujtinemj innemjiz o: in mjttoa avianjme.

Auh injc amo mjtzihiiaz in motlavical: ximocenmati, ximalti, ximopâpaca: cã tel iquac in monequj, injc amo tilhviloz, titocaiotilo tapetetzton, tinemachxoch.

O izcatquj in vtli tictocaz, ivin tinemjz, y: ivijn yn otechmozcaltilitiaque, in motecujiotzitzioan, in totecujoan in cioapipilti, in jlamatlaca in tzonjztaque, in quaztaque: cujx cenca ixqujch qujcaoia in, ca çan cencamatl in qujemacaia, in qujcaoia, in qujtoia ca çan ie ixqujch intlatol. Xiccaqujca: nemachpan, nemachiocan in talticpac: izca tlatolli xiccaqujca, auh xicpiaca: auh itech xicanaca in amonemjiz, in amotlachioal. Tlachichiqujlco in tivi, in tinemj talticpac, njpa centlanj, njpa centlanj: intla njpa xiauh, intla noce njpa xiauh, vmpa tonvetziz: çan tlanepantla in viloa, in nemoa.

Injn tlatolli nochpuchtzin, cocotzin, tepitzin: vel moiollolaltitlan xictlali, vel xicpia, ma tiqujlcauh:

3. titoloxochton: "Tiene ojitos floridos," fr. prov. para indicar la hipocresia. . . Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 358. The Spanish text does not quite correspond: "no . . . yras mirando al cielo, nj tãpoco yras, mirando a la tierra. . ."

4. tlamjaoalli: cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," p. 147.

5. Tapepetzton: "Tapepetzon. — Fr. prov. 'Eres perlita de agua.'" Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 352.

6. Tinemachxoch: "Tinemachoch. — Fr. vbl. 'Eres un ramito de flores.'" Ibid., p. 358.

Do not forget it; for it will become thy torch, thy light, all the time thou art to live on earth.

"Behold yet another thing with which I end my words. If thou art to live, if thou art to continue a little on earth, do not anywhere be friendly by means of thy body, my youngest one, child, dove, little one. Do not anywhere give thyself wantonly to another.

"If still thou hast not been good, if already thou art a woman [and] somewhere thou hast been asked for, never wilt thou be at peace with another, for it will always be remembered of thee; it will always cause thy misery, thy torment. Never wilt thou achieve peace, never tranquility. Thy helpmate, thy husband, will always suspect.

"My youngest one, dove, if thou art to live on earth, do not know two men. And heed it well, guard it well as thy stern commandment: if somewhere thou art dependent upon one, see to it that thou do not presume in something, see to it that thou be not haughty. Let thyself not have allowed thy heart the evil of directing itself elsewhere. Never at any time abuse thy helpmate, thy husband. Never at any time, never ever betray him; as the saying is said, do not commit adultery."

"This, my youngest, my daughter, is the endless, the bottomless [pit] on earth; there is no more a return, there is no more a cure. If it becometh discovered of thee, if it becometh known of thee, thou wilt be cast on the road, thou wilt be dragged on the road, thy head will be crushed with a stone, thy head will be fractured. It is said thou wilt test the stone; thou wilt be dragged. Because of thee fear will fall, because of thee there will be fear.

"And then thou wilt provide them a glory, thou wilt provide them a renown!⁷ — Thou wilt go dishonoring our lords, the lords, the rulers by whom thou art of noble birth, through whom thou art descended. Thou wilt cast dust, refuse upon their memory. Thou wilt disgrace them. There, memory of thee will perish. No more wilt thou be recognized. Of thee it will be said, thou wilt be called, thou wilt be named: "Thou who liest in the dust."

"And take heed: even if none see thee, even if thy helpmate, thy husband, see thee not, take heed, for the lord of the near, of the nigh, seeth thee. He will

ca ichoatl moçouh motlavil muchioaz, in jxqujch cavitl timonemjtiz tlalticpac.

Izca oc centlamantli, ic nocontzonquijxtia in notlatol: intla timonemjtiz, intla achi tictocaz tlalticpac: ma nen cana ic ticnjuhti in monacaiotzin noxocoioh conetzin, cocotzin, tepitzin, ma cana iliviz timotemaca:

intlaca oc tiiectli, intla ie ticihoatl, cana xitlano: ca aic ivian tiez in tepaltzinco: ca muchipa tilnamjquj-liloz, muchipa monetolinjliz, motlaihijoviliz muchioaz: aic ivian, aic tlacaco ticchioaz, muchipa chico-tlamatiz in motlavical, in monamjc:

nj noxocoioh, cocotzin intla tinemjz tlalticpac: ma vme oqujchtli mjxco, mocpac ma: auh njzca vel xiccaquj, vel xicpia, vel motepitznaoatl. Intla ie cana tepaltzinco timoetztica: ma nen itla mjtictiqujto, ma nen itla mjticticiocux: ma oc ticahavil-lacanec in moiollo, ma oc nen canapa itzcaliuh: ma ica, auh ma queman ica timoquavitec in motlavical, in monamjc: ma nen ica, ma nen queman ipan tia, in juh mjtoa tlatolli: ma tictlaxin.

Injn noxocoioh, nochpuchtzin icentlanca, icenon-qujzca in tlalticpac: aoc tle ycuepca, aoc tle ipaio: intla tittoz, intla timachoz, ca vtlica tivetztotz, ca vtlica tivilantoz, vtlica tiquatetzotzonalo, tiquatepitzinjliz: mjtoa, tetl ticiocoz, tivivilanoz: moca maviztli vetziz, moca nemahtiloz:

auh njman ie tiqujnteiotez, tiqujmjtauhcaiotiz, in quatla tiqujmantinemjz, in totecujocan in tete-cutin, in tlatoque, in jnpaltzinco timotlacatili, in jntechcopa timoqujxti: teuhtli, tlaçulli ipan ticpixoz in jntlillo, yn jntlapallo, tiqujmaivilqujxtiz vncan onpopoliviliz in motlillo, in motlapallo aocmo tinecujtiloz: mopan mjtoz, titenealo, titocaiotiloz: Teuhtitlan tactoc.

Auh xiccaquj: intlacanel ac mjtzitta, intlaca mjtz-itta motlavical, in monamjc: xiccaquj ca mjtzitta in tloque, naoaque: ichoatl moqualanaltiz, ichoatzin

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "mira que en ningún tiempo, ni en ningún lugar le hagas trayción, que se llama adulterio..." A personal communication from the late Mons. Garibay K., Apr. 3, 1966, expands upon the meaning of *ipan tia* in this connection.

8. The context and the corresponding Spanish text suggest that this phrase should be in the negative.

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "de ti se dirá el refrán: que fuese enterrada en el polvo, de tus pecados."

become angered, he will awaken the anger of the common folk, he will take vengeance. For thee he will require that which he will desire, perhaps paralysis, or blindness, or rottenness. And thou meritest thy tatters, thy rags; there will come extreme privation, for verily thou hast abused the common man [thy husband]. Perhaps then [our lord] will trample thee underfoot, will hide thee, will send thee to our common home, the land of the dead.

"And the master, our lord, is a merciful one. [But] if thou hast acted, if thou hast done it, if thou hast betrayed thy helpmate, and [even] if the lord of the near, of the nigh, doth not make thee known, no longer wilt thou be in peace, no longer wilt thou live in peace. Our lord will inspire the man; he will just ever be in anger; it will increase.¹⁰

"And this, my youngest one, my daughter, child, little one: live in calm, in peace on earth, if thou art to continue for a while. Do not with anything dishonor thyself. And do not with anything raise up the heads of thy lords, the rulers from whom thou art descended.¹¹ And as for us, may we through thee gain glory; may we gain renown.

"Pay heed, my youngest one, my daughter, little one. Enter with our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh."

qujmotlaqualanjililiz in maceoalli, ichoatzin motzon-cujtzinoz: mopan qujoalmonequiltiz, in tlein quj-monequiltiz: aço cocotetzli, aço ixpopoiotl, aço palanaliztli: auh motzotzoma, motatapa ticmaceoa, vmpa onqujçaz in tlalticpac: ca nel oica timoquavitec in maceoalli: anoce njman mjtzmocxipachilviz, mjtzmotlatiliz, mjtzmjoaliz in tochenchan in mjctlan.

Auh ca icnooacatzintli, in tlatcatl, in totecujto: intla otax, intla oticchiuh, intla oipan tia motlavical: auh intlacamo njman mjtzmonextili tloque, naoaque aoc ic yvian tiez, aoc ic yvian tinemjz: qujiollotiz in totecujto in oqujchtli, ça quajqualanjz, tlatlaveaz.

Auh injn noxocoioh, nochpuchtzin, conetzintli, tepitzin: ma ivian ma iocuxca, tonmonemjtiz in tlalticpac: intla achi ticmotoqujliz: maca tle ic tonmjçoloteoaz: auh maca tle ic tiqumontzonteconacocujz in motecujoan in tlatoque, in jntechpa timoqujxti: auh in tehoantin, ma mopaltzinco tontenioazque, tonjtauhaioazque:

tle ticmatcatzintli noxocoioh, nochpuchtzin, tepitzin: ma itlan ximocalaquj in totecujto, in tloque, naoaque.

10. *tlatlaveaz*: read *tlatlaveyan*. Corresponding Spanish text: "y el prouocara a tu marido, que siempre este enojado contra ti, y siempre te hable con enojo."

11. *Ibid.*: "mjra que no ensuzies la honrra, y fama de nuestros señores antepasados: de los quales vienes..."



Twentieth Chapter. Here is told the manner of the discourse of the father, ruler or nobleman, with which he admonished his son that he should look to the humble life, to the bowing, to the knowledge of one's self in order to be pleasing to the gods and to man. Many are the marvelous discourses, and the figures of speech, and the different words of the discourse.

"O my son, O my youth, O boy, O servitor, listen, for our lord hath placed thee here. And now, to thee who art my son, who art my child, who art my precious necklace, who art my precious feather, who art my oldest, my second,¹ my youngest son,² I speak, I call out a word or two. Verily, now I form, I say, I reflect upon the word or two which I shall give thee of my motherhood, of my fatherhood. I shall perform my obligation, lest tomorrow, the next day, our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, will have hidden us. Certainly no one enjoyeth the hard, the heavy. Certainly our living on earth is not assured.

"And grasp this, hear this: May thou follow our lord for a little while. May thou live on earth. May thou linger long. Give utmost³ attention. Be deliberate. Take much care. Certainly it is a dangerous place, a revolting place, a boundless place, a place of no repose, a frightful place, and a painful and afflicting place. And it is very true, as our mothers, our fathers, the old men go saying, that no one escapeth our ultimate home,⁴ the place of the winds, of the shattering winds,⁵ [where] reside the wind people, the flower people. There is mocking of others on earth. There is rejoicing over the misfortunes of others, there is laughing at others, there is ridicule on

Ic cempoalli capitulo, vncan mjtoa in tlatolli: in quenjn tetatzin tlatonj, anoço, pilli, injc qujnono-tzaia in jpiltzin, injc qujmocujtlaviz in jcnonemjiztli, in nepechtecaliztli: ioan in nenomaiximachiliztli, injc vellamachtilo in teteu, ioan in tlalticpac tlaca: mjec in maviçauhqj tlatolli, ioan in machiotlatolli, ioan in cecencamatl tlatolli

Nopiltze, notelpuchtze, xolotze, xoloatze: tla xicmocaqujti, ca njcan mjtzalmotlalilia in totecujto. Auh in axcan ca cententica, cencamatica njmjtznotta, njmjtztatzilia, in tinopiltzin, in tinoconeuh, in tino-cozquj, in tinoquetzal, in tinoteach, in tinotlaco-coauh, in tinoxocoioh. Ca in axcan njciocoia, njquj-toa: a njqujlnamjquj, in njmjtzmataz, in cententli, in cencamatl in nonāio, in notaio: a nonequjxtil njc-chioaz, a ma muztla, ma viptla, techtlati in totecujto, in tloque, naoaque: mach aiac tlaquaoac qujmati, aiac hetic: mach amo nellin tinemj tlalticpac.

Auh injn tla xicmocuji, tla xicmocaqujti, ma achi tictocuji in totecujto, ma tinen in tlalticpac, ma ça tivecaoa cenca cenca tle ticmati, cenca moiolic, cenca xitlachia: mach tetzauhujca, mach vellailitlan, ayviaiocan, hacemellecan temamauhtica, auh teellel-axitican: auh cenca nel conjtotivi in tonaoan, in tota-oan in vevetque aiac onqujzca tamooanchan, hecatlan, hecaxaxantlan, hecamecatl, xochimecatl onoc, teca mocacaiaoa in tlalticpactli: teca papaquj, teca vevetzcatica, tetennecujlvitica in tlalticpac amo tle nelli: auh amo nelli in qujtoa, in qujteneoa, in quj-teilvia: çan tetennecujlvitica.

1. *tinotlaco-coauh*. *Tlacoyeua* means "appears in the middle." It may mean second or third child, depending upon the number of children. As "second," see Siméon, *Dictionnaire*, p. 518 (*tlacoyeua*; note also p. 515, *tlaco-eua*). As "third," see Anderson and Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I, "The Gods," Chap. 13, and Book VII, "The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years," Chap. 2.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*tu eres el primero, y el segundo, y el postrero.*"

3. *cenca* is repeated in the MS.

4. *tamooanchan*: summary discussions of Tamoanchan may be consulted in Garibay, *Poesía náhuatl* I, p. 104, and *Veinte himnos*, p. 71. See also Selser, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, *passim*.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*con mucha razon dixeron, no se escapa nadie, de las decendidas, y mbidas deste múdo, y de los turbellinos, y tempestades, que en el ay...*"

earth. And what they say, what they praise, what they tell one is not true; there is only ridicule.

"Here is what thou art to do, what thou art to realize: it is that which is guarded, that which is bound; the secret [knowledge] — that which the old men, the old women, those who go white-haired, those who go white-headed, those who go emaciated with age, our forefathers, left as they departed. For they came to live on earth; for they came to live with others. And they came to occupy position and authority among the people.

"They [practised] the bowing of the head, the lowering of the head, the bending of the neck, the weeping, the tears, the sighs. Our forefathers came to know only their misery when they went leaving us.⁶ They came living on earth in sadness, in affliction; they came not as fools, they came not panting as they walked, out of breath as they walked. Although they went doing such as that, they were revered. They came exercising military command; in their hands rested the eagle tube, the eagle vessel; they led the eagle warriors; they provided drink for the sun, for Tlaltecútl.⁷

"And although our lord showed them mercy — when, for a while, for a brief time, they came to occupy the realm, those who came ordering things well for our lord of the near, of the nigh, who came bathing the vassals, who came suppressing their tears, who came determining sentences of death — this made no difference to them. Not for this reason did they lose [humility]; not for this reason did they become drunk; not for this reason did they become perverted. And [this] although they enjoyed that which was the property of our lord. The prosperous enjoyed the flowers, the tubes of tobacco, the breech clouts, the capes, the large cotton capes, the clothing. And they came enjoying the land, the houses. And the prosperous enjoyed all manner of drink, of food. And they came honoring one with shields, devices, lip pendants, head bands, ear plugs, lip plugs. And before them there was trembling.⁸ Perchance — since such as this happened to them — perchance did they become brazen? Did those mentioned perhaps act superior? Did they perhaps become presumptuous? Did they perhaps, for this reason, come belittling

Izcatquj in taiz, in ticchioaz: in pialli, in nelpilli, in toptli, in petlacalli: in concauhteoque in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tzonjztaztivi, in quaiztaztivi, in pipinjxtivi in totechiuhcaoan, injc omonemjtico tlalticpac, ynjc otetloc, tenaoac monemjtico: auh otetlan moetztienco in petlaquac, in jcpalquac.

Ichoa in tololli, in pilolli, in malcochtli, in choqujztli, in jxaiotl, in elciciviztli: çan imjcnio yn oqujmatico totechiuhcaoan, in techcauhtivi: intolol, inmalcoch oqujchioaco in tlalticpac, amo oixtomaaoaco, amo ohicicatinemjco, amo oneneciuhtinemjco: macivi in juhque muchiuhivi, o: in tlalchivic, in acovic oitotque: in quappetlapan, in ocelopetlapan oieco, in oimmac manca in quappiaztl, in quauhxicalli, in oquauhiacanque, in ocatlitique in tonatiuh in tlaltcutli:

auh macivi in qujnmocnoittili totecujo, in achica, in cucl achic petlapan, icpalpan oieco: in ovel conlatetequjlico in tloque, naoque: in ocâhaltico cujtlapilli, atlapalli in oqujxaiopapachoco, yn oqujcotonaco in mjqujztli: ca amo ic oquen muchioaco, ca amo ic otlapoloque, ca amo ic yvintique, ca amo ic mjtonjque. Auh macivi in quexqujch oqujmaviçoque, in jcococauh totecujo, in amjximati oqujmaviçoque in xuchitl, in jietl, in maxtlatl, in tilmatl, in quachtli, in quemjtl: auh in tlalli, in calli in oqujmaviçoco: auh in amjximati oqujmaviçoque in atl, in tlaqualli in nepapan: auh in oqujtimaloco in chimalli, in tlaviztli, in teçacatl, in tlalpilonj, in nacochtli, in tentetl: auh in jmjxpan onemamauhtiloco, cujx ic oquen muchiuhque, o, cujx oaquetzque, cujx ocuecuenotque, in mjtoa, cujx oatlamatque, cujx oatlamatico, cujx ic teixco, teicpac onemjco, cujx ic aiac tle ypan oqujttaco in tlalticpac. Auh cujx no ce ic otalacaoaco yn, ma otlapoloque? ça amo vel, oontlan in jntolol, in jnmalcoch, in jnpilol: nelli mach in omocnotecaco, in omocnomatico: nelli mach in omodanjtlaçaco, nelli mach in omopopoloco, omomaxaquac.

6. Ibid.: "estos nuestros antepasados, de qujen descedimos [sic], viujeron en grande humildad en este mudo..."

7. Ibid.: "fueron señores, y capitanes, y tuujeron la autoridad, para matar, y para hazer guerras, y mantuuujeron al sol, y a la tierra con carne, y sangre de hombres..."

8. Ibid.: "de manera que hazian temblar a todos, con su magestad..."

one? Did they perhaps, for this reason, come regarding no one with consideration? And did they perhaps, also for this reason, come forgetting? Did they lose [their judgment]? Not at all did they end their humility. Most certainly they came humbling themselves, came becoming meek. Most certainly they came becoming contrite. Most certainly they came depreciating themselves, came belittling themselves. The more they were honored, the more they wept, suffered affliction, sighed; they became most humble, most meek, most contrite.

"In such a manner lived on earth those who were the old men, those who go leaving us, thy great-grandfathers, thy forefathers. Thou art their offspring; from them thou art descended. Regard them; look them in the face. And their memory, their torch, their light, their mirror which, departing, they left: take, place, set [the mirror] before thee. See therein how thou art; compare thy way of life, thy being. Seeing exactly how thou art, then thou art to discover where are thy blotches, thy blemishes.

"Behold, here is yet a word. Heed it; thou art my eagle, thou art my ocelot, thou art my son! And know, remember, that it is a time of pain, a time of affliction in which thou hast gained thy desert, in which thou hast gained thy merit, in which our lord hath sent thee; that I thy mother, I thy father am poor, miserable. Although they went as great men who went leaving us, did they perhaps bequeath us their skills? For already poverty, misery, the misery of old men, the misery of old women dominate."

"O my son, look in thy ashes, in thy hearth. [All is] permeated by pain, by affliction; misery, inhumanity dominate; pain, affliction are known; starvation dominateth. We are in want as to that which hangeth from our hips, from our necks. In truth we turn it around and around: from whence cometh the wind, there we place it. And look at us! By the grace of our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, we go dying of hunger and thirst; we go like skeletons.

"And look at thy male cousins, thy female cousins.⁹ Do they perhaps reside, do they perhaps exist, do they enjoy abundance by the grace of the lord of

loco: inje cenca maviztiloia, oc cenca qujchocaia, qujteupoaia, quelcicivia: vel mopechtecaia, mocnomatia, mocnoteaia.

O yvi jn onemjco in tlalticpac, in vevetque in techcauhtivi in machocolhoan, in motechiuhaoca in tinnecauhca, in intechpa tiqujz, xiqujmonjtta imjxco, imjcpac xontlachia: auh in jntlil, in jntlapal, in jmo-couh, in jntlavil, in jntezcauh in concauhteoque: mjxpan xicmana, mjxpan xictlali, mjxpan xicquetza: vmpa xonmotta in quen tamj, netloc, nenaoc xictlali in monemjliz, in moieliz: quen vel tamj, njman tiqujttaz in canjn ca moceo, mecauhio.

Oc izca cencamatl tla xicmocaqujti in tinoquauh, in tinocelouh, in tinopiltzin: auh tla xoconmati, tla xoconjlnamjquj ca cococapan, ca teupouhcaiopan in otihviltic, in otimaceoaltic, in omjtzalmjoali totecujo: ca anavia, ca anjvellamati in njmonan, in njmota: macivi in veveixtivi techcauhtivi, cujx inma, cujx imjcx i techcavilitiaque: ca ie timalivi in jcnopillotl, in jcnotlacaotl: auh in jcnoveveiotl, in jcnolamaiotl.

Nopiltze xontlachia in monextitlan, in motlecujlan, cococ, teupouhquj qujqujztoc, timalivi in jcnolacaiotl, in nentlacaotl: cococ, teupouhquj macho, timalivi in cujtlaxcolpitzactli, atontonamjquj in toquezpan in toquechtlan onpilhac: nelli mach in ticmamalacachoa, in vmpa oallauh checatl, vmpa ticmana. Auh tla xitechitta ticaquaoatinemj, tomjcauh-tinemj in jpaltzinco totecujo tloque, naoaque:

auh in vecapa in moteiccaoan, in moveltioan xiqujmonjtta, cujx onoac, cujx ieloac, cujx ixtonatoque in jpaltzinco tloque, naoaque cujx tlatqujvatoc, cujx

9. Ibid.: "aunque nuestros antepasados, fueron grâdes, y ricos no heredamos dellos, aquella riqueza, nj valor, mas antes tenemos gran falta de todas las cosas, la pobreza es, la que se enseñoorea, y tiene sobre nosotros su principado, somos tus padres ancianos, y viejos, y muy necesitados."

10. Originally the corresponding Spanish text read: "Y mira a tus hermanos menores, y a tus hermanas." The Nahuatl text was altered, in vecapa was inserted, and the Spanish text was changed to read: "Y mira a tus primos menores, y a tus primas..." For a recent discussion of Nahuatl kinship terms and the meaning of *in vecapa* see Pedro Carrasco: "Sobre algunos términos de parentesco en el náhuatl clásico," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, VI (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1966), pp. 149-66. The term *in vecapa* indicates a collateral relative.

the near, of the nigh? Do they perhaps remain possessors of property? Do they perhaps remain glorified? Canst thou not see how they live? For it spreadeth on earth; for there is drudgery; all are fatigued. With that, how canst thou be proud, arrogant? That would be but virtual drunkenness, extreme foolishness. This is how thou camest forth; this is how thou wert born. And this is how it is in thy house, and so are these of thy household, thy residents. If thou wouldst in some manner suffer! And wilt thou not so bow thy head, wilt thou not so hang thy head? For in such a time as this wert thou born.

"And still behold, I place all before thee, I cause thee to see all. The third oldest brother,¹¹ thy responsibility, thy younger brother,¹² my N.: dost thou not look to him, take example from him, learn from him, depend upon him whom our lord hath humbled?¹³ Already he commandeth the city; he hath procured his realm; already in his hands rest the blue water, the yellow water; already he washeth, he batheth the vassals; already in his hands, in his mouth is castigation; our lord hath placed him in authority — him whom [our lord] hath humbled. Already he is called Tecutlato, Tlacatecutli; so the city hath called him.

"The prudent one to serve the city existeth, liveth not. The noblemen, the precious noblemen, the sons of rulers exist not, live not. But there are none¹⁴ at all. However, [if there had been any] the lord of the near, of the nigh, would have selected them, and the city would have taken one of them.

"Can he be the tender youth? I am weeping for him. Perhaps he will sink there; perhaps our lord searcheth [for another]. Is [our lord] perchance wanting in friends?

"And how did he live? How didst thou see him?¹⁵ Did he perhaps go panting? Did he perhaps go like a fool? Did he perhaps go brazenly? Did he perhaps perform impetuously? Was he perhaps disdain-

netimalolotoc: hatiqujmjtta injc monemjtia, ca tima-livi in tlaticpac, ca ihijovilo, ca tlaciaoa: quenjn xioalmotzonteconacocuj o, quenjn xaquetza o, amo ça tlaonaiotl caci, amo tequj xolopicaotl o, in juhcan tijol y, in juhcan titlacat, y, auh in juhcan mocalitic y, auh in juhque yn, moncaoan, mehcaoan, intla que-cin ximochioa: auh quen hatitoloz, quen hatimopilo, in juhcan timoioliti y.

Auh oc izca muchi mjspxan njctalia, muchi njmjt-ittitia: in tlacoteach in momamal, in moteiccauh in no. N. amo toconjtta, amo itech tonmjxcujtia, amo ytech timozcalia, amo itech timozqujpilola in oquj-mocnomachiti totecujto: in ie qujmottitlanja, in atl, in tepetl, in oqujmottitli in jpetlatzin, in jcpaltzin: in ie imac manj in matlatl, in toxpalatl, in ie quj-papaca, in ie cahaltia, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli in ie imac ca, in ie icamac ca, in ie atl cecec, in tzitzicaztli, in petlaquac, in jcpalquac oqujmotlalili totecujto, in oqujmocnomachiti: in ie mjtoa tecutlato, in tlacate-cutli, ic oqujnotz altepetl:

amo onoac, amo nemoa in uel ixtli, in vel nacaztli qujchivilia altepetl. Auh amo onoac, amo nemoa in tecpipilti, in tlaçopipilti, in tlatocapipilti: tla iece iehoan, ano ca, tla iece iehoan qujnmomapilvili in tloque, naoaque: auh tla iehoan ceme qujnmanjli in atl, in tepetl.

Quen mach vel ie in telpuchtzintli: ic nonchocatica, aço vncan onactiaz, aço ica tlatemoa in totecujto, cujx mocnjuhtolinja:

auh quen onenca, quen otiqujttaia: cujx oycatinenca, cujx oixtomaoatinenca, cujx oaquetztinenca? cujx aomotlatlamatcachiuh, cujx aoteixco, teicpac tlachix? ca nelli mach in otlaltech ia, nelli mach in

11. *tlacoteach*: *teach* is read as a variant of *teachcauh* — elder brother. *Tlaco* means, *inter alia*, "middle." By analogy (see n. 1), "third eldest brother" is suggested. Although the corresponding Spanish text relates to an elder brother, the Nahuatl text clearly relates to a younger brother. The corresponding Spanish text, which originally read: "*escuchame que tu hermano, el qual nascio despues de ti, N...*," was changed to read: "*escuchame que tu primo hermano, el qual es maior que tu. N...*"

12. *moteiccauh*: since often no distinction is made in Nahuatl between *hermano* and *primo hermano*, the term could be translated "cousin," or "younger cousin." Cf. Carrasco, *op. cit.*

13. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*no le veys, no tomas del exemplo, del auiso de la manera, que dios le a humjllado.*" The context of the section suggests that this statement may have been intended to be interrogative.

14. *ano*: read *amo*.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a este tu primo hermano, ante que tomase el cargo, bien viste como biuja?*" The word *primo* has been added in the Spanish text.

ful? For certainly he went bowed. Certainly he acted in humility. Certainly he went crying out in sadness unto our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. At night he held vigil; in truth, he went crawling on elbows and knees at midnight; at the parting of the night he went sighing. So was he by nature. And he arose promptly, he seized the broom, he became diligent in the sweeping, the cleaning, the fanning.

"And in truth, how doth he now live? How doth he perchance behave? Doth he perhaps act superior? Is he perhaps proud? Doth he perhaps say, 'Already I am this'? Rather, he goeth bowed; rather, he is humble, he weepeth, sigheth, calleth out, calleth to our lord in sadness, in tears. Thou dost not now see that he perhaps sayeth, 'I am this,' and 'Already I am like this.' For he holdeth vigil at night, quickly taketh to the sweeping, and is diligent with the incense ladle, the incense, the offering of incense. Blessed is he, for thou art the older brother and he is thy younger brother, O my son.¹⁶

"Behold, here is yet a word like a thorn, like a spine, like a biting wind, which will urge thee on, which will press thee, bear thee to the ground that thou mayest humble thyself, that thou mayest become meek. Hear it and know it. Know that it is a time of misery, a time of poverty in which thou hast come forth, in which thou wert born, into which our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath sent thee.

"Look at us. In what condition are we who are thy mothers, who are thy fathers? And how do we live? For what is our glory, what is our renown? Although [our forefathers] went as great people, departed leaving us, did they perchance leave their skills? Did they bequeath them as they left? And look at thy relatives, thy neighbors: in nothing can our lord be served, for they bring need.

"And who art thou? Thou art of noble lineage; thou art one's hair, thou art one's fingernail; thou art a ruler's son, thou art a palace nobleman, thou art a precious one, thou art a nobleman; thou art to go holding this, raising it, before thy gaze. Note that the humbling, the bowing, the inclining, the weeping, the tears, the sighing, the meekness — these same are nobility, the estimable, the valued; these are honor. Note that no brazen one, no vain one, no

jtolo, in jmalcoch, yn jpilol oqujchiuh: nelli mach in oqujmotlaoculnonochilitinen totecuj, tloque, naoaque: ioaalli oqujztoca, nelli mach in jmolicpi, in jtetepon, ic omoquequetztinen, in tlacoiooan, in ioaalli xelivi oelciciuhtinē, çan njman iuh qujz: auh meuhitiqujçaa, concujtivetzia in ochpanoaztli, itlan oac in ochpanalli, in tlacujcujliztli, in tlaicapeviliztli.

Auh in nelle axcan quen nemj? cujx quen muchioa, cujx mxacocuj, cujx aquetza, cujx qujtoa ie ne, y: ca ilhvice tlaltech iauh, ilhvice mopecteca, choca, elcicivi, qujnotza, qujtlaoculnonotza, qujchoqujznonotza in totecuj: amo tiqujtta in axcan, cujx qujtoa ne yn. auh ie njuhquj y: ca ioaalli qujztoc concujtivetzi yn ochpanalli: auh itlan aquj in tlemaitl, in tlenamactli, in tlapupuchviliztli: quenmach amj y, ca titeach: auh ca moteiccauh nopiltze.

Oc izca cencamatl, in ma iuh haoatl, in ma iuhquj vitztl, in ma iuhquj itztic checatl, in motech onqujçaz: in tlaltech mjtzpachoz, in tlaltech mjtzvicaç, injc timocujtivetiz, ynjc timocnotecaz, timocnomatiz. Xiccaquj: auh xicmati, ioan ticmati ca icnoiopan, ca icnotlacapan in tijol, in titlacat, in mjtzalmjoati in totecuj, in tloque, naoaque:

xitechitta in timonaoan, in timotaoan quen tamjque: auh quen tinemj, ca tle toteio, ca tle totoca: macivi in veveixtivi techcauhtivi, cujx inma, imjcxj, qujcauhtiaque, qujtlatlazteoque: auh xiqujmjtta in mocotoncaoan, in movilteccaoan, in atle vel onchivilo totecuj: ca tlaçiaoa.

Auh tla ça noço ac te, tla teteçpa tiqujz, tla titeçzon, tla titeçzi, tla titlatocapilli, tla titeçpilli, tla titlaçotli, tla tipilli: ça mxco, mocpac ticmantinemjz, tiqueuhtinemjz. Xiccaquj in ieçhoatl in nepiloliztli, in tololiztli, in nepechtequjliztli, in choqujztli, yn jxaiotl, in elciciviliztli, in necnomatiliztli: vel ieçhoatl pillotl, tlaçoiotl, tlaçotiliztli: ieçhoatl maviziotl. Xiccaquj: aiac aquetzquj, aiac cuecuenotl, aiac cuecuech, anoço mjtoa cuecuetz in otlatocat: auh aiac ilihviz-

16. *Ibid.*: "aunque tu eres primo hermano mayor, sobrepujate hijo mjo, este tu primo hermano menor, en todas las buenas costumbres." In each case, *primo* has been added to the Spanish text.

dissolute or, as is said, shameless one hath become ruler. And no inconsiderate one, no impetuous one, no hasty one, no one untrustworthy with secrets, no rash one hath become ruler, hath been in the rulership.

"And if, at times, a dignitary was seen who spoke in jest, who ridiculed, who was fitful, they gave him the displeasing name of *teccuecuechtli*;¹⁷ and the rulership they entrusted to no one who was a wicked but brave warrior, one furious in battle. The wicked but brave warriors, those furious in battle, those who only came paying the tribute of death, were called *quaquachictin*,¹⁸ *Otomí*, *tlaotōxinti*.¹⁹ Those who came to occupy the rulership, those who came to oversee the vassals, those who came to direct the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors,²⁰ were the weepers, the sighers, those who humbled themselves, those who inclined themselves, the bowers, those who became meek, those called the secure, the peaceful, the calm, the gentle.

"Thou knowest, thou rememberest that there is only one ruler, the heart of the city, and that there are two [assisting] dignitaries, one from the military, one from the nobility. The one from the military is the Tlacatecutli; the one from the nobility is the Tlacohtecutli. And of the commanders also, one is from the military, the Tlacateccatl; one also is from the nobility, the Tlacohtcalcatl. And in this way doth our lord govern, if it is to continue. And the military one, the Tlacatecutli, the Tlacohtecutli, the Tlacateccatl, [or] the Tlacohtcalcatl: did he then come to life in this position? Was he born in it? Did perhaps his mother, his father bequeath it to him? No. For one is just elected on earth, one is commissioned, endowed by him by whom we live.

"O my son, O my son, take it to heart. In what manner dost thou behave? Perhaps it is to no purpose that thou wilt be able to do something? Perhaps he by whom we live will yet designate thee for something. And if possibly thou wilt be assigned to a position on earth, in what manner dost thou do in thy heart? Do not praise thyself, do not take it lightly, do not claim it to thyself; be not vain, be not proud, be not presumptuous. Vanity, presumption, pride

tlacatl, aiac yciuhcatlacatl, aiac hicicanj, aiac iollocamachal, aiac tlaxcoloanj otecutilatocat, opetlapan oicpalpan catca.

Auh intla aca oquenman ittoc tecutlato, in ahavilatoa, in cacamanalti, in tlatlaxcoloa: ocaviltocaiotique, teccuecuechtli: auh in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl, aiac oqujpix quauhtlaveliloc, iaotlaveliloc: in quauhtlaveliloque, in iaotlaveliloque: çan omjqujztequjico, omjtoco quaquachicti, otomj, tlaotōxinti. In oieco petlapan, icpalpan: in oqujpiaco cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, auh in oquauhiacanaco, yn oceloiacanaco: ichoantin in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in mopilovanj, in mopechtecanj, in toloanj, in mocnomatinjme: in mjtoa, vel ca yiollo, tlamatcaioque, ivianioque, iocoxcaioque.

Auh ca ticmati, ca moiollo itlan ca, ca çan ce in tlaotōanj, in jiollo altepetl: auh ca ie vme in tecutlato, ce quappan, ce pilpan: ce quappan, tlacatecutli, tlacochtecutli, auh ce pilli: auh in quauhtlato, no ce quappan tlacateccatl, tlacochcalcatl, no ce pilli. Auh ca ivi y, tlavica in totecujō, in tlaotlatōctia: auh in quappa tlacatecutli, tlacochtecutli, tlacateccatl, tlacochcalcatl: cujx njman ipan iol, ipan tlacat? cujx noc inan, yta qujavilitia, ca amo: ca çan motepepenja, tlalticpac motechichivilia, moteimachilia, in jpalnemoanj.

Iyo nopiltze, nopiltze: ma quen muchiuh in moiollo, ma quen timuchiuh, at ça nen o, itla vel timahailiz: at noc itla mjtzpoaz in jpalnemoanj: auh acanoço can tonpouhtiaz in tlalticpac: ma quen ticchiuh in moiollo, ma mjtic titlato ma timonelchiuh, ma timoneltoca, ma ticuecuenot, ma timopouh, ma tatlama: vel yiellel, vel igualan in tloque, naoaque in cuecuenotl, in atlamatcaiotl, in nepoaliztli: at ytlamomaceoal, at itla ticmaviçalhujz in totecujō: at no

17. Ibid.: "le ponjan un nombre tecuecuechtli; q̄ qujere dezir trohan..." The Nahuatl text has *teccuecuechtli*.

18. Corresponding Spanish text: "estos tales se llamauan quaquachictin, q̄ es nōbre de hombres alocados, pero valientes en la guerra..."

19. Ibid.: "tambien los llamauan a estos otomj o tlaotōxinti, que qujere dezir otomj trasquilados, y alocados, esto [sic] eran grandes mādres..."

20. yn: the tilde is in the MS.

truly [provoke] the annoyance, the anger of the lord of the near, of the nigh. Perhaps something is thy merit. Perhaps in something thou wilt honor our lord. Perhaps thou wilt be something, perhaps thou wilt be nothing. Just conduct thyself; especially be thy head bowed, thy arms folded, thy head lowered. Be there thy weeping, thy sadness, thy sighing, thy humility, thy meekness.

"And yet hear: thou art to render, to declare thy very heart unto our lord. Thy humility is not to appear only upon the surface, for it will be said of thee that thou art a charlatan, a deceiver.²¹ And verily, our lord is looking to thee; he knoweth, he seeth the interior of stones, of wood. He knoweth one's heart, he heareth, he seeth within us, [what] we merit. Do not harden thy heart in thy humility. As a precious green stone, as a well-formed precious turquoise, offer thy humility to our lord. Be not a hypocrite."

titlatiz, at no acan tonpoviz: çan ximonemjti, cenca ie in motolol, in momalcoch, in mopilol, in mochoquiz, in motlaocul, in melciciviliz, in monecnotecaliliz in monecnomachiliz.

Auh oc xiccaquj, vel moiollo in toconmacaz, in toconjlhviz totecujo: amo çan jyio in panj neciz in mocnoio, ca mopan mjtoz titololxochton, titlanjxi-qujpilē: auh ca mjtzmotztitlicac in totecujo in tetl, in quavitl yitic tlamati, tlachia: in teiollo qujximati, in titic techcaquj, techitta timaceoalti, maca tle xoconnenelo in moiollo, in monecnomatiliz: ma onchalchiuhti, ma onteuxiuhti, vel qujzquj, in xoconmomaqujli totecujo, in monecnomachiliz, maca çan xitlaixpanj.

21. Corresponding Spanish text: "entōce dezirae a de ti, titoloxochton, q̄ es hypocrita, dezirse ya [sic] de ti tãbien. titlanjxi-qujpilē, que qujere dezir, hōbre fingido..." In Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 358, Garibay translates titoloxochton as "Tiene ojitos floridos" (see also Chap. 19, n. 3) and titlanjxi-qujpilē as "Tú tienes abajo el morral."



Twenty-first Chapter.¹ Here is told the discourse, the manner in which the father, ruler or nobleman, exhorted his son in order to provoke him to chastity. Here he said that the gods befriend, love much those who can be abstinent. Many similes and examples are given expression. Very good are the discourses and the many other things which furnish pleasure.

"Thou who art my son, thou who art my youth, hear the words; place, inscribe in the chambers of thy heart the word or two which our forefathers departed leaving: the old men, the old women, the regarded ones, the admired ones, and the advised ones on earth. Here is that which they gave us, entrusted to us as they left, the words of the old men, that which is bound, the well-guarded [words]. They went saying that the pure life is considered as a well-smoked, precious turquoise; as a round, reed-like, well-formed, precious green stone. There is no blotch, no blemish.² Those perfect in their hearts, in their manner of life, those of pure life — like these are the precious green stone, the precious turquoise, which are glistening, shining before the lord of the near, of the nigh. Like them are the precious feathers, the dark green ones, broad, well-formed,³ which arch over the earth. They are those of pure life, those called good-hearted.

"Heed what the old men went saying: that the children, the youths, the maidens are the real friends, the really beloved of the lord of the near, of the nigh. They live with him; they rejoice with him; he maketh friends of them.

"Because of this, for this reason, the old men, those especially devout in the penance, in the fasting, in the offering of incense, go especially confident in those who are children, youths, maidens. The students of the old men, their sons, they awaken while it is yet dark and while they want the pleasure of sleeping;

Ic cempoalli oce capitulo, vncan mjtoa in tlatolli: in quenjn iehoatl tetatzin tlatoanj, anoço pilli qujno-notzaia in jpiltzin, ynjc qujcujtlaviltiaia in nepializtli: vncan qujtoa, ca in teteu, cenca qujnmocnuhtia, qujntlaçotla in vel mopia: mjiec tlancujujliztlatolli, ioan machiotl moteneoa: cenca qualli in tlatolli, ioan oc cequj mjiec tepapaqujlti

In tinopiltzin, in tinotelpuch: tla xiccaquj in tlatolli, tla moiollocaltitlan xictlali, xiqujcujlo, in cententli, in cencamatl in concauhteoque in totechiuhcaoa in vevetque, in jlamatque in otlachixque, in otlamaviçoque: auh in otlaztlacoque tlalticpac. Ca izcatquj in techonmacativi, in techonpialtitivi in vevetlatolli in nelpilli, in toptli, in petlacalli: ca conjtotivi ca teuxivitl vel popoca: ca chalchivitl ololivic, acatic, vel icucic momati in chipaoacanemjliztli: acan ceio, acan hecauhio, vel qujzquj in jniollo, in jnnemjliz in chipaoacanemjliceque: iuhquj o, in chalchivitl, in teuxivitl cuccueiocatica, tonatica, in jxpan tloque, naoaque: iuhquj o, in xopaleoac quetzalli, in patlaoac, in vel iaque, in vitoliuhtoque tlalticpac, in chipaoacanemjliceque: in mjtoa qualli iniollo.

Tla xiccaquj, conjtotivi in vevetque: ca in pipiltzintzi, in telpupuchtzintzi, in jchpupuchtzintzi: vel icnjoan, vel itlaçoan in tloque, naoaque, itlan nemj, itlan paquj qujmjenjuhtla.

Ic ica, ic ipampa, in vevetque, in vellateumatinj in tlamaceoaliztica, in neçaoaliztica, in tlenamactica: oc cenca iehoantin qujntemachitivi in pipiltzintzi, in telpupuchtzintzi, in jchpopuchtzintzi: in vevetque in jntlazcaltlhoan, in jnpilhoan oc ioan in qujm-jxitia: auh in qujvelicachioaznequj cochiztli, qujnpe-

1. For another translation of this chapter, see Garibay, *Literatura*, pp. 123-28.

2. See Chap. 43.

3. See *ibid.*

they strip them; they sprinkle them with water. These sweep; they offer incense; the women wash the mouths. It is said the lord of the near, of the nigh, yet heareth, receiveth their weeping, their sorrow, their sighs, their prayers, because, it is said, they are good of heart, undefiled, still clean, untouched, pure, still true precious green stones, still true precious turquoises. So, it is said, through them the earth yet endureth.⁴ They are our intercessors.⁵

"And then there are the priests, the penitents, for they are those who live in chastity; clean, good, fine, precious, washed, white⁶ are their hearts. Their way of life is undefiled, without ordure, without dust, without filth. For this reason they approach, they stand before the lord of the near, of the nigh; they offer him incense, they pray to him, they pray to him on behalf of the city. And the ruler nameth them the priests of his gods because of their goodness, their clean life.

"And the old people, the wise ones, the keepers of the books, go saying that the pure in heart are very precious; those who nowhere find and who rejoice not in vice, in filth, those who know it not, are so precious that the gods require them, seek them, call out to them. He who goeth pure, who dieth in war, they say, the sun summoneth; he calleth out to him. He liveth hard by, nigh unto the sun, the valiant warrior. He goeth gladdening him, giving cries to him, causing him to rejoice. Always forever, he liveth in pleasure, he rejoiceth; ever glad, without pain, he sucketh the different flowers, the savory ones, the fragrant ones. For verily he liveth in the house of the sun, which is a place of wealth, a place of joy.

"And such as these who die in war are well honored; they are considered very precious on earth, and they are also very much desired. Also they are much envied, so that all people desire, seek, long for this death, [for such] are much praised.

"Thus is it said of one who died in war, a small youth who came to die in war in Mexico. He was an inhabitant of Uexotzinco named Mixcoatl. His song is intoned; it is told:

*Thou, Mixcoatl, meritest the song.
Thou wilt live on earth;
Thou wilt live among Uexotzinco's drums —*

tlaoa, qujmatzelhvia, ochpana, tlenamaca: in cioa tecamapaca, mjtóa: oc qujncaqujlia, qujnmacujlia in tloque, naoaque, yn jnchoqujz, in jntlaocul, in jmelciciviliz, in jntlatlatlauhtiliz: ca nel noço mjtóa qualli in jniollo, aiatle neneliuhquj, oc chipaoac, oc qujztica, oc macitica, oc vel chalchiviti, oc vel teuxiviti: iuh mjtóa, oc ichoan inca man jn tlalli, totlatlcevicaoan.

Auh njman ie izcatquj in tlamacazque, in tlamaceuhque: ca chipaoacanemjliceque, chipaoac, qualli, iectli, tlaçotli, tlapactli, toztic yn jniollo: in jnne-mjliz atle neneliuhquj, atzoio, ateuhió, atlaçollo: yc ipampa in jtech aci, in jixpan moquetza tloque, naoaque in qujpopuchvia, in qujtlatlauhtia, in qujtlatlauhtilia in atl, in tepetl: auh in tlatoanj, qujntocaiotia yteuan in tlamacazque: ipampa in jnqualtiliz, yn jnchipaoacanemjliz.

Auh ioan conjtotivi in vevetlaca, in tlamatinj, in amoxhoaue: ca cenca tlaçotin in chipaoacaiolloque, in acan qujtta, auh in amo qujmaviltia teuhitli, tlaçulli, in catzaocaiotl, in amo qujximati: ynjc tlaçotlin qujnnequj, qujntemoa, qujnoaltzatzilia in teteu, yn aqujn mohotqujtiuh iaomjquj: qujtoa, qujoalnotza, qujoaltzatzilia in tonatiuh, vel itloc, jnaoac nemj in tonatiuh, in tiacauh cavilitinimj, coiovitinimj, quelelqujxtia: muchipa, cemjcac pactinimj, motlamachtia, qujchichina in nepapan xuchitl, in velic, in aviac: aic quen muchioa, aic tle yiolipan: ca nel tonatiuh ichan in nemj, ca necujltonoltitlan, netlamachtitlan.

Auh in juhque yn, injque yn, iaomjcque: vel maviçolo, vellaçocamacho in tlalticpac: auh no cēca vel elevilo, no vel intech neiolcocolo: injc muchi tlaçatl qujnequj, qujtemoa, quelevia injn mjqujztli cenca iecteneoalo.

In juh ipan mjtóa, ce iaomjquj, in telpuchtepitzin iaomjqujco mexico, in vexotzincatl itoca Mixcoatl: ca onmeoa, ca onmjtóa in jcujcaio. Timjxcoatl tocomamaceoa, cujcatl tioliz tlalticpac, aaia ve: vevetiltan tinemjz in vexotzinco, in tiqumonaviltiz in tepilhoan, in mjtzittazque in mocnjoan a, ooaia.

4. Read *mani in*.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "dixi que por estos sustentava dios al mundo, y que ellos eran nuestros intercesores, para con dios."

6. Read *textic*.

*Wilt gladden the nobles.
Thy friends will behold thee.*

"Here is the reply to this song to give much praise to Mixcoatzin, the small youth who died in war.

"It saith:

Like fine burnished turquoise thou givest thy heart.

It cometh to the sun.

Thou wilt yet germinate —

Wilt once again blossom

On earth.

Thou wilt live among Uexotzinco's drums —

Wilt gladden the nobles.

Thy friends will behold thee.

"And then those who have been drowned," those struck by lightning: the old men went saying that they who are good of heart are struck by lightning because the Tlaloque desire them; they long for them. They take them there to their home, Tlalocan. They live by the master, Xoxouhqui, he who is provided with rubber, with incense, Tlamacazqui, lord of Tlalocan. For verily in Tlalocan those who enter, those taken, those struck are submerged there.⁷ They live in eternal spring; never is there withering; forever there is sprouting, there is verdure; it is eternally green.

"And then here are the words which tell of those who die prematurely, the tender youths, the tender maidens, the inexperienced, the uninstructed on earth. To him who went not experiencing, not approaching vice, filth, it is said, our lord showed bounteous mercy. The tender youth, the tender maiden are like precious bracelets, like precious green stones.

"And still here is a word to be guarded, to be taken, to be heard, for it is said that the children who die become as precious green stones, as precious turquoises, as precious bracelets. When they die they go not there where it is fearful, the place of sharp winds, the region of the dead. They go there to the home of Tonacatecutli; they live in the garden of Tonacatecutli, suck the flowers of Tonacatecutli, live by the tree of Tonacatecutli; by it they suck [the flowers].⁸

Izca icuepca injn ihiiotl, injc cenca coniecteneoa in Mixcoatzin in telpuchtepitzin moiaomjqujli:

qujtoa. Çan teuxiuhtlamatiloltic moiollo toconmacan tonativitz, oc titzmolinjz y: oc ceppa tixotlaz tlalticpac aia ve, vevetitlan tinemiz in vexotzinco y, tiqujmonaviltiz in tepilhoan in mjtzittazque in mocnjhoan aooaia, ooaia.

Auh njman ie ichoantin, in claqujlo, ioan in jnpan tlatlatzinj in viteco: ca iuh conjtotivi in vevetque, ca ichoantin in qualli in iollo, in jnpan tlatlatzinj in viteco: ca qujnnequj, qujmelevia in tlaloque: vmpa qujnvica in jnchan in tlalocan, vel itloc, inaoac nemj in tlatatl in xoxouhquj, in ollo, in jauhio tlamacazquj in tlalocatecutli: ca nel noço tlaloca in calaquj, in vico, in viteco vmpactivetzi: cemjcac xopan in nemj, aic tlacuetlavia: cemjcac tlatzmolinj, tlacelia cemjcac tlaxoxovia.

Auh njman ie izcatquj in tlatolli, in jnpan mjtoa in motlalmjqujlia telpuchtzintli, ichpuchtzintli: in amo onmattiuh, ontlachixtiuh tlalticpac: in amo qujximattiuh, in amo itech acitiuh teuhitli, tlaçulli: ca mjtoa. Oqujmotlaçoicnelili in totecujto: maqujzti-tiuh, chalchiuhtitiuh in telpuchtzintli, in jchpuchtzintli.

Auh oc izcatquj cencacamatl, in pialonj, in cujoan, in caconj: ca mjtoa in coconetzitzintli momjqujlia chalchiuhti, teuxiuhti, maqujzti: in mjquj, amo vmpa vi in temamauhtica in jtzehecaia in mjc-tla: vmpa vi in tonacatecutli ichan, tonacaquauhtitlan in nemj, qujchichina in tonacaxuchitl, itech nemj in tonacaquavitl, itech tlachichina.

7. Read *ilaquilo*.

8. Read *umpa actiuetzi*.

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "van a la casa del dios, que se llama tonacatecutli, que vine en los vergeles, que se llaman tonacaquauhtitlan, donde ay todas maneras de arboles, y flores, y frutas. . ."

"It is not in vain, O my son, that children, babies are buried in front of the maize bin, for this signifieth that they go to a good place, a fine place, because they are still as precious green stones, still as precious bracelets; still pure, they become as precious turquoises.

"And here is still a little: the babies, the children are very precious; they are beloved, desired, because they are the clean, the yet pure ones. They become as precious green stones, as precious bracelets, as precious turquoises: precious.

"Behold also the good, the fine, the good of heart, those worthy of confidence. They are respected, honored. They do nothing reprehensible, they are nowhere reprehensible. And they live in happiness and peace. Nowhere do they spread fear; they live in contentment.

"And now, O my beloved son, O my youth, take heed if thou art to continue with our lord a while. Listen to the way in which thou art to live. Thou art not to lust for vice, for filth; thou art not to take pleasure in that which defileth one, which corrupteth one, that which, it is said, driveth one to excess, which harmeth, destroyeth one: that which is deadly. So the old men went saying: in childhood, in the yet tender years, then is when our lord showeth compassion for one. Then is when he distributeth, giveth as one's desert, the rulership, the governed,¹⁰ valiant warriorhood. And then, then in the time of childhood, in the tender years, at that time the lord of the near, of the nigh, giveth one, giveth one as merit, joy and prosperity.¹¹ And in the time of childhood, still in the time of purity, the good death is merited.

"Take heed, O my son: also such is the condition in the peopling, the replenishing of the world. For the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath said, thou art ordained one woman [for] one man. However, thou art not to ruin thyself impetuously; thou art not to devour, to gulp down the carnal life as if thou wert a dog.

"Especially art thou to become courageous, art thou yet to become strong, art thou yet to reach maturity. Even as the maguey, thou art to form a stalk, thou art to ripen.¹² Then, thereby, thou wilt become strong in the union, in the marriage. Thy

Amo çan nen o, nopiltze in cuezcomatl ijxpan toco coconetzitzinti, in pipiltzitzinti: ca iehoatl qujnezcaciotia in qualcan in ieccan vi: in jpampa in oc chalchihui, in oc maquijzti, in oc vel motqujticate teuxiuhui.

Auh oc izca achiton: ca in pipiltzitzinti, in coconetzitzinti, ca cenca tlaçotin tlaçotlalo, nēneco: ypampa in chipaoaque, in oc motqujticate chalchihui, maquijzti, teuxiuhui, tlaçotin.

Izca ioan in qualtin, in iectin: in qualli iniollo, intech netlacaneconj, ixtililo, maviztililo: atle imaioca, acan ca imaioca: auh pactinemj, iocuxcanemj, acampa nacazmavi, tlaconemj.

Auh in axcan notlaçopiltze: notelpuchtze: xicacauj intla achi tictoqujliz totecujō: xicacauj ivi y, tinemjz y, amo tiqueleviz in teuhitli in tlaçulli: amo ticmaviltiz in teiçolo, in tecatzauh: in mjtōa tetlacaçoltili, in teitlaco, in tepolo, in mjcoanj. Ca iuh conjotivi in vevetque in pillopan, in oc tlaçoxoxouhcaioan: vncan in moteicnoittilia totecujō, vncan in tetlamamaca, vncan in qujteilviltia in petlatl, in jcpalli, in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj, in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl: auh njman vncan, njman pillopa, tlaçoxoxouhcaioa in qujtemaca, in qujtemaceoaltia, in jtzopelica, in javiaca in tloque, naoaque: auh pillopan, oc chipaoalizpan in maceoalo qualli mjqujztli:

Xicacauj nopiltze: ca tel noçō ic manj in cemanaoac in nepixoloz, in netlapiviloz: ca oqujmjtalhvi in tloque naoaque in titlanoz ce cioatl, ce oqujchtli: iece amo timjciuhcapoloz, amo iuhquj tichichi, ticquativetziz, ticquetzontivetiz in talticpacaiotl:

oc cenca timoiollotechioaz, oc tichicaoaz, oc timaciz: in ma iuhquj timetl, tiqijiotiz, titeteçaviz: vncan o, ic ipan tichicaoaz in tlapaliuhcaiotl in nena-mjctiliztli: in mopilhoan iezque tzōtzomocitque, tētecujcitique: auh tētetzcaltique, chichipactique,

10. See Chap. 43.

11. See *ibid.*

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "mira que el maguey, si lo abren de pequeño, para quitarle la miel, nj tiene substancia, nj da miel, sino pierdesse ante que abran al maguey, para sacarle la miel, le dexan crescer, y venir a su perfection: y entōce se saca la miel."

children will be rugged, agile,¹³ and they will be polished, beautiful, clean. And well wilt thou enter into thy mundane life, thy carnal life: in thy carnal life¹⁴ thou wilt be rugged, strong, swift; diligent wilt thou be.

"And if thou ruinest thyself impetuously, if too soon thou seducest, thou discoverest [women] on earth, verily the old men went saying, thou wilt interrupt thy development, thou wilt be stunted, thy tongue will be white, thy mouth will become swollen, puffed; thou wilt go tasting thy nasal mucus, thou wilt be pale, thou wilt go pale on earth, thy nasal mucus will go dripping, thou wilt go coughing, thou wilt be enfeebled, weakened, emaciated; thou wilt become a tuft of hair. Possibly already thou wilt linger a short time on earth, very soon to be old, old and wrinkled.

"And thou art as the bored maguey, thou art as the maguey: soon thou wilt cease to give forth liquid.¹⁵ Perhaps it is so with thee, a man, when already thou consumest thyself, when thou canst no longer say anything, no longer do anything to thy spouse. Soon she hateth thee, soon she detesteth thee; for verily thou starvest her. Perhaps presently there ariseth her desire; she longeth for the carnal relations which thou owest thy spouse. Already thou art finished, thou hast completed all.¹⁶ Perhaps thou art incapable. She will ignore thee, she will betray thee. Verily, thou hast ruined thyself impetuously, thou hast consumed thyself.¹⁷

"Heed yet. May thou in good time reach manhood. Thou art not to ruin thyself impetuously. Although she is thy spouse, thy body, when thou wilt live with her, when thou wilt know her, it is as with food [which] thou art not to eat hastily; that is to say, thou art not to live lustfully; do not give thyself excessively to it. Moderately, temperately art thou to perform [the act]. Perhaps otherwise to no avail it cometh to pass that thou thinkest to find plea-

chichipaccaltique iezque: auh vel itlan taqujz in motlatica, in motlalticpacaiouh, in motlalticpac-iaoiuh, titzomocitic, titlapaltic, titzicujctic tiez: mehel tiez.

Auh intla çan xonmjciuhcapolo intla çan cucl xon-tlamati, xontlachia tlalticpac. Ca conjtotivi in vevet-que: timozcallapuztequjz, ticacamacpil, tinenepiliz-tacopil tiez, ticamaçapil, ticanponaton timuchioaz moiacacujtlapil ticpalotinemjz, tipinectontli tiez, tipineoatinemjz in tlalticpac, moiacacujtl chipintinemjz, titôtôlcatinemjz, tiâiacatontli tivivitoctontli tiez, tiquequetotzpil, timamalichtontli timuchioaz: ha-çaço ie tiquezqujlvia in tlalticpac, çan cucl iça tive-vepil, tivevexolochton.

Auh in mahan titlachictli, in mahan timetl: çan cucl in timocaoaz timeia, aço qujn vel ica toqujchtli, in oc uel tonmotlamj, in aoc cuclle tiqijlvia, in aoc cuclle ticaitia monamjc, ie cucl mjtzihiya, ie cucl mjtztlaelitta, ca nel noço ticapizmjtia: aço qujn ie ic itlati in qujnequj tlalticpacaiotl, injc timaceoalti in monamjc, ie te oc uel timocauh: muchimmopanti aço y iatlamatia mopan iaz mjtzontlaximaz: ca nel noço otonmjciuhcapolo, ca otonmotlamj.

Oc xiccaquj: ma nel noço ic ipan, ie qualcan in titlapaliuhcatiz: amo timjciuhcapoloz, ma nel monamjc, monacaio, in jltan tinemjz, in jltan tiaz: in mahan tlaqualli, amo tiqijciuhcaquaz, qujtoznequj, amo titlahelnemjz, amo ticmotequjmacaz: çan ipan, çan ipan qualli in ticchioaz: ach anoço nen muchioa tipaquj timomati, in ticmotequjmaca in paqujztli: ca ie timomjctia, ca timovitilia:

13. Read *tetecuitique*.

14. The repetition is accepted as deliberate, the variation in spelling as copyist's error.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "Y quando te casares, seras assi como el que coge miel del maguey, que no mana, porque le acogeraron ante de tiempo, y el que chupa para sacar la miel del, no saca nada, y aborrescerle a y desecharle a..."

16. Read *muchi* in *mopanti*.

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "y buscara otro, porq̃ tu ya estas agotado, y aunque no tenja tal pensamiento por la falta, que en ti hallo, hazerte a adulterio: y esto porque tu te destruyeste, dandote a mugeres ante de tpo, te acabaste." In *Literatura*, p. 126, Garibay has translated the passage thus: "Un maguey que se raspa deja de manar. Y también el hombre deja de dar lo que da el varón. Ya nada dice, ya nada hace a su consorte de lecho: ella sentirá repulsión por ti, te verá con asco porque la estás matando de hambre. Y es cuando a ella se le despierta y se le anardece el placer que tú tenías que darle, pero tú ya acabaste, ya estás agotado, ya no puedes satisfacerla y ella hará por buscar en otra parte el sustituto: parará en adúltera y te será infiel. Antes de tiempo eres un hombre agotado y consumido." The translators are also indebted to the late Mons. Garibay, personal communication, Apr. 3, 1966, for the clarification of a number of points in this passage.

sure when thou givest thyself excessively to pleasure, for already thou killest thyself, thou endangerest thyself.

"The old men said, as they left, as they went leaving their commandments: 'Thou art only a maguey which they have sucked excessively. Be not so. The cape wetted, washed, when tightly wrung, quickly drieth; also thou art the same when thou hast given thyself excessively to the carnal act. Not only art thou useless, but soon thy nasal mucus goeth hanging; thou wilt go toothless, thou wilt go on hand and knees, thou wilt go pale.'

"Behold, it came to pass that a man was seized, was imprisoned — a decrepit old man, white-headed — because he knew another's woman; he had committed adultery. And he was asked if it were possible that he still required the carnal act. He said that presently was aroused his desire for the carnal act, because in the time of his childhood, in the time of his youth, he looked not upon a woman, nor did he ever anywhere know carnality. In the period of his virility, already in the time of his old age, then he went seeking the carnal act.

"Behold, here is yet a word or two. Let it inspire thee, that all may be thy measuring stick, thy model. Thou art to take all as an example as to how to live in purity on earth.

"In the time of the lord Neçualcoyotzin, two old women were seized. They were white-headed; their heads were like snow; it was as if they were wearing shredded maguey fiber. They were imprisoned because they had committed adultery, had betrayed their spouses, their old men. It was young priests, youths, who had violated them.

"The ruler Neçualcoyotzin inquired of them; he said to them: 'O our grandmothers, listen! How do ye feel? Do ye perhaps still require the carnal act? Are ye not satiated, being [as old] as ye are? And how did ye live while still in your girlhood? Just say it, just tell me, since ye are here for this reason.'

"They said to him: 'Master,¹⁸ ruler, our lord, receive it, hear it. Ye men, ye are sluggish, ye are depleted, ye have ruined yourselves impetuously. It is all gone. There is no more. There is nothing to be desired. But of this, we who are women, we are not the sluggish ones. In us is a cave, a gorge, whose only function is to await that which is given, whose only

conjtotivi in vevetque, injc concauhtivi intenaotil. In ma çan timetl, in omjtzontequjchichinque, amo ie tiuhquj: in tilmatli paltic, in tlapactli, in cenca motequjpatzca, in motetepatzca: ca hiciuhca oaquj: no tiuhquj, in otoconmotetequjmacac tlalticpacioltl, amo ça tinentlacatl: auh aç a cucl moiacacujtlapil pilcatinemj, titlanpixqujtinemjz, tixonauhtinemjz, tipineoatinemjz.

Izcatquj muchiuh: ce tlatcatl anoc, ilpilloc vevenp pul quaztapapul, ipampa tepan ia, tetlaxi: auh tlatlanjloc, in cujx noma qujnequj tlalticpacioltl, qujto; ca qujn ieie itlati in qujnequj tlalticpacioltl: ipampa in jpiltian in jtelpuchtian, acan oqujttac cioatl, ano ie ocana tlalticpac tlama, ie ichicaolizpan, ie ivevetlizpan, in qujn oqujttaco tlalticpacioltl.

Oc izca cententli, cencamatl, xicmoioloti: injc muchi moctacauh, momachiouh iez: muchi itech ticanaz, in quenjn tichipaoacanemjz tlalticpac.

In jpan tlatcatl neçaoalcoiotzin: omentin anoque ilamapipil quaiztapatoton: ça iuhqujn cepaiavitl intzontecon: ça iuhqujn ichtli onacticate: ipampa ilpiloque, inpan iaque, qujntlâxinque, in jnnamjcoan, in jnvevetcaoan: tlamacazcatotonti, telpupuchtotonti in tepan iaque.

Qujntlatlanj in tlatoanj Neçaoalcoiotzin: qujmjlhvi. Tocioane, tlaxiccaqujcan: quen anmomati, cujx noma anqujnequj in tlalticpacioltl, amo oaceuhque, ca ie amjuhque, y: auh, que çan oannenque in oc amopiltia: ça xiqujtocan, ça xinechilvican, ca ie vnca yn ancate:

qujlviue. Tacatl, tlatoanj, totecujto: ma xicmocujli, ma xicmocaqujti: in amoqujchtzitzinti, ca amehoantin antlatzivi, ca amehoantin anmocaonj in amo mjciuhcapoloque: ca ie ixqujch ca aoc tle amo necoca: auh injn in ticioa, ca amo titlatzivinj: ca oztotl, ca tepexitl in totech ca: ca çan tequjtl ima-

18. Read *Tlacatl*.

function is to receive. And of this, if thou hast become impotent, if thou no longer arousest anything, what other purpose wilt thou serve?

"And this, O my son: be very careful on earth. Live very calmly, very peacefully. Live not in filth. Do not live in filth on earth."

coca qujchia, ca çan tequjtl tlacelia: auh injn intla otitlamjcti, intlaca oc titlaxitia: tle oc tiez.

Auh injn nopiltze: cenca moiolic in tlalticpac, cenca iocuxca, cenca yvian in xinemj, maca can xitlahelnemj: ma titlahelnen in tlalticpac.



Twenty-second Chapter. Here are told the admonitions of the father, nobleman, or ruler, to counsel his son regarding prudence in public, and how to sleep, to drink, to eat, to talk, and how to dress. And he told him never to eat anything from the hands of the whores, the harlots, because they feed one, they cause one to drink the bad food, their potions.

"Behold still a word to finish my talk. Perhaps I shall deceive if I have hidden a word left by our forefathers as they departed, in order that thou mayest dwell with others on earth, in order that thou mayest be prudent in all things, in everything.

"First: thou art to be one who riseth from sleep, one who holdeth vigil through the night. Thou art not to give thyself excessively to sleep, lest it will be said of thee, lest thou wilt be named a heavy sleeper, one who goeth falling asleep, a constant sleeper, a dreamer. By night thou art to arise, thou art to pass the night awake, thou art to sigh, to cry out to, to make demands of our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind. And thou art to turn quickly to the sweeping, thou art to take care as thou art to hold vigil, as thou art to arise, in the offering of incense.

"And second: thou art to be prudent in thy travels; peacefully, quietly, tranquilly, deliberately art thou to go, to take to the road, to travel. Do not throw thy feet much, nor raise thy feet high, nor go jumping, lest it be said of thee, lest thou be named fool, shameless.¹ Neither art thou to travel very slowly, nor to drag thy feet, lest it be said of thee that thou art a dragger, thou art a lout, thou art a fat one; lest it be said of thee that thou goest waddling, that thou goest like a mouse; also lest thou turn thyself into an object of derision, incline thy head, travel like a pregnant woman.² Nor art thou to go trampling; thou art

Ic cempoalli omome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in jtenonotzaliztlatol in tetatzin in pilli, anoço tlatoanj: injc qujnonotzaia ipiltzin, in jtechpa in nematiliztli in teixpan: auh in quenjn cochiz, atliz, tlaquaz, tlatoz, ioan in quenjn motlalpiliz: ioan qujlviaia, in ma yca inmac tlaqua in cioatlaveliloque, in avianjme: ichica ca qujtequaltia, qujteitia: in amo qualli tlaqualli inpaio.

Oc izca cencamatl, ic onaci in notlatol: ach ac ic njcquelo,z, intla cencamatl njctlati, in concauhteoaque totechiuhcaoan: injc tetlan timonemjtiz tlalticpac, vel timjmatiz in jpan muchi, in jpan ixqujch.

Injc centlamantli: ticochiçanj, tixtoçoanj tiez: amo ticmotequjmacaz in cochiztli, injc amo titoloz, titocaiotilo: ticochipilotl, ticochipichi, ticochmjml, ticochiztli: ioaac timeoaz, ioalli tiqijtztot, telciciviz, tictatziliz tictlaitlanjliz in totecujo in tloque, naoque, in ioalli, ehecatl: auh toconcujtivetiz in ochpanalli, ticmocuajtaviz ipan tixtoço, ipan tiçatoz in tlenamactli.

Auh injc vntlamantli: timjmatiz yn ipan monenemjliz, ivian, iocuxca, matca, tlamach in tiaz, in totlatocaz, in tinenemjz: amo cenca tocontepeoaz, in mocxi, amo no cenca ticahacocujz in mocxi, amo no tichocholotiaz: injc amo titoloz, titocaiotiloz tixtotomac, ticuecuetz: amo no cencan moiolic in tinenemjz, amo no tiqujnvivilanaz in mocxi: ynjc amo mopan mjtoz tivilaxpul tixocotexpul, teticapul: injc amo mopan mjtoz titlatlaztimjnjtinemj, tiqujqujmichintinemj: injc amo no ticamanalli timocuepaz, titoloz: timjmxiuhcanenemj, amo no tiquequecinenemjz, amo tixoxotlamatiz, amo timocuecuelotiaz,

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "los que no lo hazē ansi, llamanlos yxtotomac, cuecuetz, que qujere dezir, persona que va mjrando, a diuersas partes, como loco, y persona que va andando sin honestidad, y sin grauedad, como liujano bullicioso..."

2. Ibid.: "assimismo dizen de los que van muy espacio, viuñlaxpul, xocotespul, heticapul: que qujere dezir, persona que va arrastrado con los pies, que anda como persona pesada, y como persona que no puede andar, de gordo, y como muger preñada..."

not to seem like a firefly, not to strut, not to bustle about, lest it be said of thee that thou art only an old thing, that thou art shameless.

"Also thou art not to hang thy head, not to incline thy head much, not to stand up off balance, not to look sideways, not to look out of the corner of the eyes, lest it be said of thee that thou art an imbecile, very much a commoner, that thou hast not been counseled, that thou art very much an orphan, that thou bringest thy orphanhood upon thyself.

"Third: thou art to speak very slowly, very deliberately; thou art not to speak hurriedly, not to pant, nor to squeak, lest it be said of thee that thou art a groaner, a growler, a squeaker. Also thou art not to cry out, lest thou be known as an imbecile, a shameless one, a rustic, very much a rustic. Moderately, middlingly art thou to carry, to emit thy spirit, thy words. And thou art to improve, to soften thy words, thy voice.

"Fourth: thou art to pretend not to dwell upon that which is done, that which is performed. Especially art thou to depart from, to forsake evil. And thou art not to peer at one, not to peer into one's face, not to stare at one. Thou art not to peer into the face, at the head of — not to stare at — the esteemed one; especially a woman; much less at someone's wife, for it is said he who stareth at, who peereth into the face of another's wife, with his eyes committeth adultery, and that some they there imprisoned, punished.

"Fifth: Guard, take care of thy ears, of that with which thou hearest. Do not gossip; let what is said remain as said. Ignore it. Pretend not to understand the words. If thou canst not ignore it, respond not. And speak not; only listen; let what is said remain as said. And when something is said, if something evil is told there, that which meriteth imprisonment, that which meriteth death, and on thee — if thou dost withdraw with others, if thou actest foolishly with others, especially if thou lendest a word, if thou speakest among others — on thee it will be laid; [then] thou wilt expiate the words of others, thou wilt atone for others, and thou wilt be taken, thou wilt be seized, and furthermore, thou wilt be imprisoned. It is said, because of thee words will be denied, there will be defending, there will be excusing. And he whose words they are, perhaps he is there, perhaps he remaineth thereby virtuous, and perhaps he is content. But thereabouts thou art made a fool.

amo timotlatlacuechinjtiaz: injc amo mopan mjtoz, ca çan titleinpul, ca ticuecuetz:

amo no tiquechpilcatiaz, amo cenca titoloz, amo timonacacicquetztiaz, amo avic titlatlachixtiaz, amo tinanacaztlachixtiaz: injc amo mopan mjtoz ca tixolopitli, ca titequjmaceoalli: ca acententli, ca acen-camatl titlamactli, titequjicnopilpul: ca motequjic-nopillo timaitia.

Injc etlamantli: cenca moiolic in titlatoz, cenca ticnematcaviz: amo ticiuhcatlatoz, amo ticicaz, amo no tipipitzcaz: injc amo mopan mjtoz, ca tiqujquj-ton, tiqujqujnapi, ca tipipitzton: amo no titzatziz, injc amo tixolopitli, tixtotomac, timjllacatl, titequj-mjllacatl ipan timachoz: çan tlaco, çan tlanepantla in ticvicaz, in ticqujxtiz in mjhijo in motlatol: auh ticqualtiliz, ticiamanjliz in motlatol, in motozquj.

Injc nauhtlamantli: amo ticmolvicanenequjz in tlein muchioa, in tlein aioa: oc cenca iehoatl in amo qualli: timjquanjz, titlatlalcaviz. Auh amo titehit-taz, amo teixco titlachiaz, amo titececemjttaz: amo ijxco, icpac titlachiaz, amo ticcecemjttaz in mavizti: oc cenca ie in cioatl, oc cenca iequene iehoatl in tecioauh: ca mjtoa, teixtlaxima in aqujn qujcecemjttaz, ixco tlatlachia in tecioauh: auh ca cequj vnca oac-tiaque, oqujtzacutiaque.

Injc macujllamantli: xicpia, xicmalhvi in mona-caz, in motlacaquja maca xitlatolmocujcujtlavi: in tlein itolo, ma ie itolo: xitlatlalcavi, maca xicmocac-canenequj in tlatolli: intlaca vel titlatlalcavia maca xitlananqujli: auh maca xitlato, çaçan xitlacaquj, ma ie itolo, in tlein itolo. In jquac tlatolo, intla itla aqualli vnca mjtoa, in tlatzaqualonj, in tlamjcoanj: auh in tehoatl intla tetlan timjquanja, intla tetlan timototochoa: oc cenca intla tonmocencamavia, intla tehoan tontlatoa: te motech motemaz, te motech tzo-piz in tlatolli, te ticcenmamaz: auh te tonanoz, te tontzitzqujloz: auh iequene, tehoatl tocontzacutiaz: te mjtoa moca tlatenceviz, moca nemapatlalo, moca onnequjxtiloz: hace vnca, hace iectli ic ca: auh hace pactica, in aqujn tlatole: iece tehoatl njpa tixtotoma-oaltilo.

"Thus this is very necessary; thou art to be prudent, O my precious son. Do not die somewhere in vice, do not die somewhere in vain. Take good heed, take care; see to it that thine eyes are open.

"Sixth: when thou art summoned, be not summoned twice, be not called twice. The very first time, thou art to arise responding, to arise quickly. If thou art to be sent as a messenger, thou art to run, to be swift. If thou art ordered to get something, thou art to get it promptly. Thou art to travel swiftly, to travel bounding, in no wise sluggish; like the wind art thou to go. Thou art to be diligent, and thou art to do things at only one bidding, for if thou art twice summoned thou wilt be considered as perverse, lazy, languid, negligent, or thou wilt be regarded as one disdainful of orders, as a haughty one. This is the time when the club, the stone should be broken on thee.

"Seventh: as thou art to array thyself, as thou art to clothe thyself, thou art not to dress vainly, thou art not to array thyself fantastically, thou art not to place on thyself the gaudy cape, the gaudy clothing, that which is embroidered. Neither art thou to put on rags, tatters, an old loosely-woven cape. The unhappy, the discontented, our lord honoreth with this, giveth as merit, giveth as one's lot, so that he causeth them to be the miserable, the useless, the unhappy, the discontented ones, to suffer tribulation, pain. The forest, the plains they completely cover; they go searching for the herbs, the wood, the wild bean [roots], the roots. Thou art not to imitate this, not to take joy in it, not to find merit in it; for it is a matter of ridicule. This is what it meaneth.

"Thus art thou to tie on thy cape: do not tie it on so that thou goest tripping over it; neither art thou to shorten thy cape. Moderately art thou to tie it on. Nor art thou to expose thy shoulder. The *quachic*, the so-called furious in war, he who goeth confidently encountering his death, and the entertainer, and perhaps the buffoon, or perhaps the dancer and the mad one, all snatch the cape of whatever kind; they drag it; they trip over it; they go about mocking, they go rudely, they go drawing it to the arm pit, shoulder bared; they go in conceit, graceless, dragging their feet, twisting and turning as they travel. And their sandals are wide and long, the straps dragging, and their excessively long sandal thongs [also] dragging. But as for thee, be thou always prudent as to the

Ic cenca monequj y, timjmatiz notlaçopiltze ma cana tavilmjc, ma cana titlapicmjc, cenca tle ticmati, cenca moiolic: ma nen tonmjxcueionj.

Injc chiquacentlamantli: in tinotzaloz, amo oppa in tinotzaloz, amo oppa in titzatzililoz: çan ceppa titlananjqujliteoaz, timoquetzteoaz: intla tititlanoz, timotlaloz, titzicujnjz: intla itla ticujtlanoz, ticcujtuetziz, titzitzicujcatinemjz, tichôcholotinemjz, acan tetic: iuhqujn tehecatl tinemjz, titzicujctictiez, auh çan ce monacaz ticchioaz: ca intla oppa otinotzaloz o, ie titlaueililoz, titlatziuhquj, ticujtlatzotl, ticujtlanaca ipan timachoz: anoce a timoxicollanj, timopoj ipan tittoz: ie vnca o, in quaujtl, in tetl mutech paianjz.

Injc chicontlamantli: injc timuchichivaz, injc timotlaquentiz: amo timotopalquetzaz, amo timoxanca-chichioaz, amo motech tictlaliz in topal tilmatl, in topallaquemjtl, in tlamachio: auh amo no ichoatl motech tictlaliz, in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli, in aiaçolli: in ahaiaia, in avellamati qujtimaloa, in qujmaceoaltia, in qujlviltia totecuj: injc qujtla-maceoaltia, in jcnotlacatl, in nentlacatl in haiaia, in avellamati, in toneoa, in chichinaca, in cenquavitl, in cemjxtlaotl tentimanj, in qujmjxtmolotinemj in qujlitl, in quavitl, in cimatl, in tlaneloatl: amo tictlaieicalviz, amo ica timaviltiz, amo ica timaceoaz: ca tlaquequeloliztli qujtoznequj o.

Injc timotlalpiliz: amo timotlaxopeoallalpiliz, amo no tictitichoz in monetlalpilil: çan vel ipan in timotlalpiliz, amo no ticpetonjz in macul: Ca in quachic: in mjtoa iaotlaueililoz, in ça imjqujz qujpopouhtinemj: ioan in tlaquetzquj, in at tetlavevetzqujti, in at noço maceuhquj: ioan in iollotlaveliloz, muchi qujcujtuetzi in tilmatl, in çaço quenamj tlatlavilana, tlatlaxopeoa, tlaquequelotinemj, tloxocotinemj, icia-cacpa tlaqujxtitinemj, acullapetonjtinemj, xoxotlami, xoxoquappitznênemj, qujvivilana yn jcx, monenecujlotiuh in nenemj: auh in jcac cocoiactic, viujlaxtic in jnacaz: auh ixachchi in jcacmecaioh vivilaxtic. Auh in tehoatl: muchipa ximjmati in tilmatl, in cactli: çan muchipan qualli, ipan ipan iec-tli, muchi colotic, in motech xictlali.

cape, the sandals; place on thee that which is always good, proper, all fine.³

"Eighth: Listen! Above all thou art to be prudent in drink, in food, for many things pertain to it. Thou art not to eat excessively of the required food. And when thou dost something, when thou perspirest, when thou workest, it is necessary that thou art to break thy fast. Furthermore, the courtesy, the prudence [thou shouldst show] are in this wise: when thou art to eat, thou art not to be hasty, not to be impetuous; thou art not to take excessively nor to break up thy tortillas. Thou art not to put a large amount in thy mouth; thou art not to swallow it unchewed. Thou art not to gulp like a dog, when thou art to eat food.

"Thou art not to let thyself choke on the food, not to strangle. Thou art to drink, to eat slowly, calmly, quietly. Thou art not to stir up the pieces, not to dig into the sauce bowl, the basket. Take care lest the choking on food, the strangling, should befall thee there. How hath it come about that thou hadst caused laughter at the place of eating? Quickly hadst thou fallen to the ground if thou hadst choked. And they would mock thee for it; a great quantity of that which is savory they would arrange for thee, for thou wouldst yet nourish thyself. But because thou wert a glutton, thou wouldst fall to the ground when thou wert to eat. Rather, thou wouldst be intemperate. Therefore also art thou a spectacle.

"And when already thou art to eat, thou art to wash thy hands, to wash thy face, to wash thy mouth. And if somewhere thou art to eat with others, do not quickly seat thyself at the eating place with others. Quickly thou wilt seize the wash water, the wash-bowl; thou wilt wash another's hands. And when the eating is over, thou art quickly to seize the wash-bowl, the wash water; thou art to wash another's mouth, another's hands. And thou art to pick up [fallen scraps], thou art to sweep the place where there has been eating. And thou, when thou hast eaten, once again art thou to wash thy hands, to wash thy mouth, to cleanse thy teeth.

"In brief, these are as many words as I give thee, as I now cause thee to hear; as many words lie guarded, those to live by, those worthy of being guarded. Our forefathers, the old men, the old women, the white-

Injc chicuetlamantli: xiccaquj, oc cenca iequene ipan timjmatiz in atl, in tlaqualli, ca uel mjiec tlamantli yn jpan ca: amo titequjtlaquaz, cochcaiotl, neuhcaiotl in monequj: auh in tiitla ay, in timjtonja in titlatequjpanoa: ca monequj titenjçaz. Çan ie izcatquj in nematcaiotl, in nematiliztli: in jquac titlaquaz, amo ticiuhtoz, amo tixtomaoaz, amo ixachchi ticcuiz, tictlapanaz in motlaxcal: amo ixachchi in mocamac ticaqujz, amo ticpepetztoloz, amo tixmetzotoz in titlaquaz,

amo timehelcintoz, amo timeheltepotlamjtoz: çan moiolic, çan ivian, nematca in tatliz, in titlaquaz: amo titlatetexcoloz, amo titlamatatacaz in molcaxic, in chiqujvic: cenca moiolic, vncan mopan oallaz in neelcimaliztli, in neeltepotlamjiztli, quen nenti otitlauetzqujti, in otlaqualoian timemelaoatiuetz, in otimelci: auh ic mjtzquelozque, ixachi mjtztlatlilizque in tlein velic, ca no ça timozcalia: auh ca noço tixixicujn, tontlalvitoz in titlaquaz: ne tonmoxujtiz, ca nocic titlatlatto.

Auh in ie titlaquaz, timomatequjz, timjxamjz, timocamapacaz: auh intla cana tetlan titlaquaz, amo teoan timotlalitiuetziz in tlaqualoian: toconcujiuetziz, in nematequjlatl, in nematequjlacxitl, titematequjz: auh in ontlaqualoc, toconcujiuetziz in nematequjlxicalli, in nematequjlatl, titecamapacaz, titematequjz: auh titlacujcuiz, tochpanaz in vncan otlaqualoc: auh in tehoatl, in otitlaqua oc ceppa timomatequjz, timocamapacaz, timotlancujcuiz.

Çan cuel izqujcamatl yn, in njmjtzmaca, in njmjtzcacujtia in axcan: quexqujch in mopixtoc tlatolli, in nemoanj, in pialonj: in concauhteoaque in totechihcaosan in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tzonjzta-

3. *ipan* is duplicated in the MS.

haired ones, the white-headed ones, departed leaving them. The many words — O that thou couldst later take them to heart!

"Right here are a word or two which merit being taken, being guarded, being grasped, which our forefathers went putting in their coffers, in their reed chests; for all courtesy, all prudence come from [and] are taken from this.

"They went saying that on earth we travel, we live along a mountain peak. Over here there is an abyss, over there is an abyss. Wherever thou art to deviate, wherever thou art to go astray, there wilt thou fall, there wilt thou plunge into the deep.⁴ That is to say, it is necessary that thou always act with discretion in that which is done, which is said, which is seen, which is heard, which is thought,⁵ etc. And further, behold, thou art to take care, thou art to go remembering, not to swallow things carelessly; thou art to leave a little. That which thou wilt see, or whatever is placed before thee, thou art not to eat quickly, for on earth there are inhuman conditions. There are inhuman people, evil ones, haters of men, who will somewhere cause thee to swallow something in drink, in food. Proceed cautiously with thine enemies, or those who were thine enemies. Especially art thou to proceed cautiously with, to live in fear of, the women, above all the whores. Thou art not to eat, thou art not to drink the things offered. Such is said of the evil ones, the disloyal, the agitators, those with potions. Some, it is said, seek revenge.

"This, it is said, is pleasurable; one [kind] causeth one to discharge one's fluid when the whores, the harlots cause one to eat it, swallow it, or drink it to provoke lewdness. This endangereth one; and it is very deadly because one is dried up. For it useth up our blood, our color, our oils; it useth up our moisture; it useth up the turpentine, the resin.

"So, it is said, he who partaketh of the *maçacoatl*⁶ is moderate, drinketh it moderately. [If immoderate,]⁷ he will have carnal access to perhaps four, five, perhaps ten women. And to these women he hath access not only once with each one, but four or five

que, in quaiztaque: a mjiec in tlatolli, quenmach ie ne ximotlaiollotianj.

Çan izca cententli, cencamatl cujoanj, pialonj, tzi-tzquijlonj: in jntop, in jnpetlacal qujchiuhtivi tote-chiuhcaoa: ca muchi itech qujça, muchi itech mana, in nematcaiotl, in nematiliztli.

Conjtotivi, ca tlachichiqujlco in tivi, in tinemj tlalticpac, njpa tlanj, njpa tlanj: in campa tonchicope-tonjz, in campa tonchicoeoaz vmpa tonvetziz, vmpa timotepexiujz, qujtozneq': moneq' muchipa mone-matcachioaz in quexqujch muchioa: in mjtoa, in motta, in mocaquj, in molnamj etc. Oc izca ioan ticpiatz, tiqujlnamjctinemjz amo iliujz titlacampaxoz, amo çan titlacentocaz: in tlein tiqujttaz, in tlein noço mjxpan tlaliloz: amo ticquatiuetziz, ca amo tlacapan in tlalticpac: ca onnemj in atlaca in tlaue-liloque, in tecocolianj: vel cana itla mjtztololtizque, in jpan atl, tlaqualli: intechcopa timjmatcanemjz in moiaoa, anoço in moiaoa ocatca: oc cenca iehoan intechcopa ivicpa timjmatcanemjz, ioan timauhcanemjz in cioa: oc cenca iequene iehoan in cioatlaue-liloque: amo ticquaz, amo tiqujz in tetla-mamactli: iuh mjtoa in amo qualli, in amo cemelle, tlanello, paio: cequj mjtoa tetlacuepili.

Injn qujl nepapacio, cequj temeialti in qujtequaltia in qujtetololtia, in aço qujteitia cioatlaue-liloque in aujanjme, injc tlaelpaqujznequj: injn ca teuvitili, auh nel mjcoanj: ipampa ca tepatzcac, ca tlamj in tezço, in totlapallo, in tochiaoa ca taio tlamj, tlamj in oxiutl, in ocotzoiotl:

iuh mjtoa in momaçacovavia qujxieiecoa, çan ix-qujch quj, in aço navi, macujlli cioatl qujnamjqujz, manoço matlactli: auh injn cioa, amo çan ceceppa in jntech aci: aço quen nanappa, mamacujlpa: auh aiac vecaoa in momaçacoavianj, intla elti, iciuhca

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "El camino seguro, por donde deuenos camjnar en este mūdo, es muy alto, y muy estrecho, y desuñado a qualquiera parte deste camjno, no podemos, sino cayer, en vna profunda barranca, y despeñarlos [sic] de vna gran altura. . ."

5. Read molnamiqui.

6. Maçacoatl: cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book XI, "Earthly Things," p. 80.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "...si lo toman destempladamente. . ."

times with each one, more or less. And no one endureth. He who partaketh of the *maçacoatl*, if aggressive, quickly dieth. As he dieth he becometh well dried up, veritably a little lock of hair, having long tufts of hair, locks of hair on the face.

"Perhaps he had been a mere child; perhaps he endureth for some time; perhaps he liveth yet a while; perhaps he continueth in the service of our lord. Eventually he is only little old eyes, only little locks of hair, tufts of hair, very white, nasal mucus hanging, trembling of neck; his flesh only hangeth in wrinkles; he quickly dieth.

"Guard thyself well, O my son. Perhaps someone giveth thee something to be eaten, to be drunk. If thou art suspicious of him, let him eat first, let him drink first that which he giveth thee. Pay attention. Continue with caution on earth, for thou hast heard that moderation is necessary."

mjmjqij: injc mjqij vel oaaqij, vel malichavi, vel pilinj, vel quequetotztitzin muchioa, ixmalichpipil:

aço qujn piltontli, ac ace quexqujchcaujtia, aço qujn achi qujoalmana in tonatiuh ac ace tle qujtoqujlia in totecujio, ie cuele ça ixveventon, ça mamalichpil, quequetzopil, iztalecpil, iacacujtlapilopil, quechvivichpil: ça pipilcac in jnacao, iciuhca onmqij.

Vel ximopia nopiltze: at aca itla mjtzmaca in qualonj, in joanj: intla itech tichicoiolloa, ma oc ie achto conj, ma oc ie achto conqua, in tlein mjtzmaca: tle ticmati xonmjmattinemj in tlalticpac, ca oticac in çan tlanepantlacaioitl monequj.



Twenty-third Chapter. Here is told what the natives did when they would have their sons marry.

Here is related how the natives sought wives. When one's mother, one's father already saw that their youth was already matured, already strong, then they assembled, they consulted with one another.

[The father] said: "Poor is this, our youth. Let us seek a woman for him, lest he somewhere do something. He may somewhere molest a woman; he may commit adultery. For it is his nature; he is matured."

Thereupon they summoned their youth; they placed him before them. [The father] said to him: "Thou art here, thou who art my youth. Behold, we talk because we are concerned regarding thee. Thou poor one, already thou art this way, for thou hast matured. We say: 'Let us find thee a woman. Seek permission: take leave. Let the masters of the youths,¹ the rulers of the youths learn of it.'"

And their youth then replied to them: "Ye have shown me favor, ye have inclined your hearts; in my behalf ye have suffered anguish, in my behalf ye have suffered affliction. I shall inflict sickness upon you, I shall visit you with sickness and pestilence. May it happen as ye desire, for so also are the desires of my heart. Oh, may it be that my heart suffer pain, affliction! Oh, may it be that I behold the dangerous places on earth! Where shall I go to experience it?"

Then tamales were prepared, chocolate was ground, sauces were prepared. They bought youths' axes — cutters of wood, splitters of wood. Then they summoned the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths. Then they served them food, served them drink, gave them smoking tubes. And when they had eaten, when they had taken drink, thereupon the [youth's] old men, the guardians of the quarters, the guardians of the boundaries seated themselves; and they placed the youths' axes before them.

Injc cempoalli vmei capitulo, vncan mjttoa: in tlein qujchioaia in njcan tlaca, in jquac ie qujnnamjt-tizque in jnpilhoan.

Nican moteneoa, injc cioatlanja in nican tlaca. In ichoatl in tenan in teta: in ie qujtta in jntelpuch ie omacic in ie chicaoac: njman mocentlalia in monotza

qujtoa. Motolinia injn totelpuch: ma cana ticci-oatlanjan, ma cana itla qujchiuh: ma cana cueitl, vipilli tepan ca, ma cana tepan ia: ca ie iuhquj ca omacic.

Niman ie ic qujnotza in jntelpuch imjxpan qujtla-lia, qujlvia: ca njcan tica in tinotelpuchtzin, ca izcat-quj tiqjtoa, ic tinentlamati motechcopa: timotolinja ca ie tiuhquj, y, ca otimacic, ca tiqjtoa: ma timjtzcioatlanjan, ma ximotlanaoatili, ma ximotlatlalca-vili: ma qujmocaqujtican yn tiachcaoan, in telpuchtlatoque.

Auh in jntelpuch, njman qujnnanqujlja. Oan-nechmocnelilique, otlacauhqj in amoiollotzin, in noca anmotequjpachivitia, in noca in amonentlamachitia: cocoliztli namechnocujtiliz, temuxtli, checatl namechnecaviltiz: ma muchioa, in juh anqujmone-qujlta: ca no iuh qujnequj in noiollo, macueliehoatl ma toneoa, chichinaca in noiollo: macueliehoatl, ma nocotta in temacauhtican tlalticpac: can nel njtla-mattiu.

Niman ie ic tamalaoa, cacaoatexo, muchichioa in molli: qujcova telpuchtepuztli, in quauhteconj, in quauhxelolonj. Niman ie ic qujnnotza in tiachcaoan, in telpuchtlatoque: njman ie ic qujntlamaca, qujm-amaca, quimjiemaca: auh in ontlaquaque, in onatli-que: njman ie ic onmotlalia in vevetque, in tla-xilacaleque, in axocheque: ioan imjxpan conteca in telpuchtepuztli.

1. *tiachcaoan*: the term *tiachcauh* applies to "elder brother" and to "master of youths." In this context, the latter is meant. See Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, Book III, "The Origin of the Gods," p. 53.

Thereupon [one of] the old men spoke: he said [to the leaders of the youths]: "Ye are here present, ye who are our sons, ye who are youths, ye who have labored, ye who have worked. Your youth² will disquiet you, for he wisheth to withdraw; he wisheth to enter the company of women. Verily, here are the youths' axes in order that he be separated; thus is the judgment of the Mexicans."³

Thereupon [the master of] the youths responded; he said: "Ye have shown favor to your sons. Here your sons comprehend all, hear all. This is enough. Verily, he leaveth forever the youths [and] their leaders with whom for a little time he hath worked, hath labored."

Then the masters of the youths departed bearing the axes.

Then, later, all the kinsmen [of the youth] assembled. There was consultation with one another; there was consideration as to which woman they would request. And when they had become of one accord as to which woman would be requested, the old women, the matchmakers, while it was yet early morning, passed to her home. They urgently solicited the parents of the maiden.

Then the matchmakers took their leave; they said: "Once again, early in the morning, we shall come by; we shall not remain." Then the next day, once again, very early in the morning, they passed by; they went to the home of the woman. They solicited [the parents of the maiden] in the same manner.

And when it was already the fourth day, [the parents of the maiden] said to them: "The maiden hath caused you trouble. To what purpose doth she deceive our humble man?⁴ For her uncles, her aunts are in agreement. May then all learn what they will say, and may the maiden also hear of it. Once again on the morrow ye will come; ye will come to hear of her pleasure."⁵

And the next day, when the matchmakers had gone, deliberately, in tranquility, there was consultation. There was no one who disputed; there was no one who spoiled the discourse. When an amicable

Niman ie ic ontlatoa in vevetque: qujtoa. Ca njcan anmonoltitoque in antopilhoan in antelpupuchtin, in antequjti, in antlacoti: amechmotlapololtiliz yn amotiachcauh, ca oncalaqujznequj in xomolco, oncalaqujznequj in cuetitlan, in vipiltitlan: ca njcan catquj in telpuchtepuztli, injc tlatzicuevalo: injc tlatzontequj in mexica.

Niman ie ic tlacuepa, in telpupuchti: qujtoa. Oanqujnmocnelilique in amopilhoan: ca njcan qujcencuj, qujcencaquj in amopilhoan: ca ie ixqujch, ca ie ic cenmaian qujncaoa in telpupuchti in oc cemjlvitzintli inoan ontequjt, ontlacotic intachcaoa:

njman ie ic vi in tiachcaoa, qujtquj in tepuztli.

Niman ie ic çatepan mocentlalia in jxqujchtin ioaiulque: nenonotzalo, nepanotl nettitilo in ac ie cioatl qujtlanjzque: auh in omocemjto in ac ie hoatl cioatzintli in mjtlanjz. Auh in jlamatque in cioatlanque, oc uellavizcalpan in qujça in jchan: çan oc qujnoalnavatia in jchpocheque.

Niman ie ic ontlacuepa in cioatlanque, qujtoa: ca oc ceppa ioatzinco in tioalqujçazque, amo titocaoazque: njman imuztlaioç, oc ceppa veca tlavizcalpan in qujça, in vi ichan cioatl: çan no ivin qujnoalnaoatia.

Auh in ie ic navilhvitl, qujnvalilvia: Amechmotolinjlia in jchpochtontli: tle ic qujmjxcuepilia in toquauh, in tocelouh: ca onavac in jtlaoan, in javivan: ma oc qujcencaqujcan, quen conjtozque: auh ma oc no qujcaquj in jchpochtontli: oc ceppa muztla anvalmovicazque, iveliaca anqujmocujliqujvi.

Auh in jmuztlaioç, in oiaque cioatlanque: ça tlamach, ça ivian in nenonotzalo: aocac tlachalanja, aocac qujtlacoa in tlatolli in oniecnonotzaloc. Niman ie ic qujtoa, in jchpucheque. Ca ie qualli, ma tlaieic-

2. See n. 1.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "aquí esta esta hacha, es señal de como se aparta, ya de vña compañía (según es la costumbre de los mexicanos)..."

4. Cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "pero pues, que con tanta importunacion hablays en este negocio, es necesario que pues que la muchacha tiene tios, y tias, y parientes, y parientas, sera bien q todos iunctos, y [sic] vean lo que les parece, veamos lo que diran: y también sera bien, que la muchacha entienda esto: y así venjós mañana, y lleuareys la determinaciõ, y conclusiõ deste negocio."

agreement had been reached, thereupon the parents of the maiden said: "It is good. May it be consummated. Will she move the humble one, the unembittered one, the unseasoned one? And if at times they will be poor, [if] her heart will suffer pain and affliction, how will he regard the maiden? Will she perhaps perform something? Will she perhaps do something?"

Then they said to the parents of the youth: "Rest your bodies. Learn when the union can occur."

And the [youth's] old men then sought out when it would be, which one was a good day. And when they had learned the good day, then they went to give the information; they told the maiden's parents when this would be: the proper day. They said the good days were Reed, Monkey, Crocodile, Eagle, House. Thereupon there were preparations: the ashes were prepared, ground cacao was prepared, flowers were secured, smoking tubes were purchased, tubes of tobacco were prepared, sauce bowls and pottery cups and baskets were purchased. Then maize was ground; leavening was set out in basins. Then tamales were prepared. All night they were occupied; perhaps three days or two days the women made tamales. So they passed the night. That which transpired in their presence let them sleep very little.

And the day before [the marriage] was to take place, there were invitations to banquet: first those who were illustrious, the lords, the captains, the seasoned warriors, and those who guided the groom, and the moderately matured youths, those same among whom [the groom] belonged, and then those who were the masters of the youths, the rulers of the youths; then those who were all the kinsmen of the man and of the woman.

And when it had dawned, when the groom was to marry the bride, and the bride was to marry the groom, thereupon the invited guests entered. First the rulers of the youths, the masters of the youths entered. When they were fed, they drank only chocolate, for they drank no pulque. And at midday all the old men, the old women entered. To each one it was undertaken to give food, to give drink, to give flowers, to give tubes of tobacco. And the women came bearing, some of them, maguey fiber capes; some of them, coarse maguey fiber capes; some of them, small capes; and we poor people only grains of maize. They placed all the gifts before the

cavi: cujx qujmotlavelchiviliz in quauhtli, in ocelutli, in acococ, in apuec: auh in quenmanjan in juhquj meaozque, in juhquj cochizque: a toneoaz, a chichinacaz in jiollotzin: quen oqujmotlachieltili in jchpuchtontli, cujx ie vel itla ai, cujx ie itla vel qujchioa.

Niman ie ic qujmjlhvia in telpucheque. Ma oc xicmocevilican in amonacaiotzin: ma oc concaqujcan in jqujn vel onmuchioaz in nenepanoliztli.

Auh in vevetque: njman ie qujtemoa in jqujn iez, in catlecoat qualli tonalli: auh in oqujttaque qualli tonalli, njman ie ic vi tlanonotzazque: qujmjlhvia in jchpucheque. Ca iquac iez in: ichoatl ipan in tonalli: Qujl in qualli tonalli: ichoatl in acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, calli. Niman ie ic nechichioalo, nenexquetzalo, cacaoapinolli muchioa, xuchitlano, acaquaujtl mocoua, ijeltalli muchioa, molcaxitl mocoua, ioan çoqujtecomatl, ioan chiquijtl: njman ie ic texoa, xocotextli apaztica momamana: njman ie ic tamalolo, ceioal in nemoa, aço cilvitl, anoço omjlhvitl in tamalao cioa, iuh qujtlaça ceioal: cenca çan achiton in concochi, in jmjxtlan onqujça.

Auh in ie imuztlaioc ie muchioaz: njman ie ic tecoanotzalo achtopa ichoantin in maviztililonj, in tetcutin, in achcacauhtin, in tequjoaque, ioan in tlalauhcaia, ioan in çan uel tlalalivi: in mach vel ichoan, ie intech ompovi: njman ichoantin in tiachcaoan, in telpuchtlatoque: njman ichoantin in jxqujchtin in teoiulque, in jtechcopa oqujchtli, ioan itechcopa cioatl.

Auh in otlathujc, in ie iquac tlalaluhcati in oqujchtli: ioan in mocchotia cioatl: njman ie ic calaquj in tlacouanotzalti. Achtopa ichoantin calaquj in telpuchtlatoque, in tiachcaoan: in ontlaculaque, çan cacaoatl in quj: ca in octli, camo quja. Auh in ie ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: iquac in nepantla tonatiuh in calaquj: nececenquetzalo in tetlamaco, in teamaco in texuchimaco, in teiemaco. Auh in cioatzitzinti in conjtquj: in aca ichtilmatli, in aca aiatl, in aca tequachtli: auh içan ticnotlaca, çan tlaultzintli: tlecujlixquac in qujtlaiaia in jxqujch teicnelilli. Auh in vevetque, ioan ilamatque, qujn tlaoantia: auh in tlaoancaxitl, injc tlaoanaia, cenca

hearth. And they caused the old men, the old women to become besotted. And the drinking bowl with which they became besotted was very small: the little black bowl. Some drank three bowls, some four bowls, some five bowls. This was sufficient to drink in order for the old men, the old women to become besotted. And that which they drank was yellow pulque, honeyed pulque.⁶

And when the sun went hanging low, then they bathed the woman; they washed her hair with soap; they pasted her, arm and leg, with red feathers, and bedizened her face with pyrites. But if one was still somewhat a girl, they bedizened her face with yellow.⁷ And when preparations had been completed, then they placed her before the hearth upon a reed mat. Thereupon the [youth's] old men addressed her, greeted her, animated her.

They said to her: "O my daughter, thou art here. For thy sake thy mothers, thy fathers have become old men, old women. Now thou approachest the old women; already thou commencest the life of an old woman. Forever now leave childishness, girliness; no longer art thou to be like a child, no longer art thou to be like a girl. Be most considerate of one; regard one with respect, speak well, greet one well. By night look to, take care of the sweeping, the laying of the fire. Arise in the deep of night. Do not embarrass us; do not reject us as old men, do not reject thy mothers as old women. And perchance thy grandfathers, thy grandmothers still acknowledge thee, for already they have gone beyond; already the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath hidden them."

"Thou poor one, animate thyself, for already thou forever abandonest thy mother. No longer art thou to incline thy heart; no longer art thou to recognize thy mother, thy father, for thou abandonest them completely. Pay close attention, O my daughter."

Then the woman replied. She wept much; she was saddened. She said [to the one who had spoken]: "My lord, precious persons, ye have shown me favor, ye have inclined your hearts. I shall impose sickness upon you. I shall visit you with sickness

can tepiton in tlilcaxtontli: in aca quija ecaxitl, in aca nauhcaxitl, in aca macujlcaxitl: ie vncan onaci in quja, injc ivintia in vevetque, in jlamatque: auh in quija iehoatl in aotli in tlachioalotli.

Auh in ommopiloto tonatiuh: njman ie ic caaltia in cioatl, camovia, qujpotonja tlapalivitica in jmac, in jicxic, ioan qujxaoa apetztica: auh yn oc achi ich-puchtli, tecoçauhtica in qujxaoaia. Auh in ocôcen-cauhque: njman ic contlalia tlecujlixquac, petlapan: njman ie ic qujnonotza in vevetque, qujtlapaloo, quellaquaoa:

qujlvia. Nochpuchtze ca njcan timoietztica, ca moca veveti, moca ilamati, in monanoan, in motaoan: in axcan, ca ic intech tompachivi in jlamatque: ie toconpeoaltia in jlamanemjiztli: axcan xiccencaoa in pipillotl, in coconeitl: aiocmo tiuhqujn tipiltontli tiez, aiocmo iuhqujn ticonetontli tiez: vel xiteixtili, xitemauhcaitta: vel xitlato, vel xitetlapalo: ioaalli xiqujtzto, xicmocujtlavi in tlachpanaliztli, in tletaliliztli, veca ioan ximeoa, ma titechpinauhti, ma titechvevetlaz: ma tiqumjlamatlaz in monanoan: auh cujx oc mjtzalmati in mocolhvan, in mocioan: ca ie nachca mantivi, ca ie oqujntlati in tloque naoaque,

timotolinja ma ximellaquaoa: ca ie ic ticcencaoa in monantzin, aocmo itzcaliujz in moiollo, aocmo tiqualmatiz in monantzin, in motatzin, ca ie ic cenmaian tiqumjnocavilia: tle ticmatcatzintli nochpuchtze.

Niman ie ic tlacuepa in cioatzintli: cenca mochoqujlia, motlaocoltia: qujmjlvia. Noteco, tlaçotitlaca, oannehmcocnelilique, otlacauhqj in amoiollotzin: cocoliztli namechnocujtiliz, temuxitli, ehecatl namechnocajtiliz: ca njcan njcnocujltonoa, njcnotla-

6. On pulque or *octli*, see Chap. 14, n. 5. *Aotli* is identified as "yellow wine" in Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," p. 150. In Molina's *Vocabulario*, Spanish-Nahuatl section, fol. 117v, *vino del miel* is *aotli*, and *vino con miel* is *tlachinalotli*; in the Nahuatl-Spanish section, *aotli* (fol. 6v) is *vino hecho de miel y agua*, and *tlachinalotli* (fol. 117v) is *vino de miel o de granadas o de cosa semejante*.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "ponjanlas vnos poluos amarillos, que se llaman tecoçahuji..."

8. *Ibid.*: "mjra hija, que no auerguenceys, q̃ no deshonorreys, a los que somos vuestros padres, y madres, vñs abuelos, que ya son defunctos, no os an de venir a dexir, lo que os cumple, porque son ya defunctos, nosotros lo deximos en su nombre..."

and pestilence. Here I have enriched myself; I have prospered by your motherhood, your fatherhood. Ye have inclined your hearts, precious persons."

And when the day had ended, when there was yet a little sun, then older relatives of the youth came to take the daughter-in-law. All of them were old women. When they had come to enter [the bride's house], then they said: "We shall cause you to be frightened, for we have come to take our daughter. May she undertake the journey."

Thereupon [the relatives of the maiden] broke up; there was agitation. And a woman whose task it was, one already strong, was to bear her upon her back. Then she took a black manta by the corners. The daughter-in-law knelt upon it, whereupon [the woman] took her upon her back. Then the torches were lighted to show that already she was borne to her man's place. They went ordered in two rows, one on each side, as they provided her with light. And all the woman's kinsmen went in concourse about her; they went surrounding her; it was as if the earth rumbled behind her. And as they accompanied her, it was as if all eyes were fixed upon her; all the people looked at her.

And some said to their daughters: "Oh, blessed is the maiden! Open thy miserable eyes. Thou canst not reflect. Thou art lazy in hearing the stern words; thou art perverse in accepting the exhortations, the indoctrination, the responsibility. Blessed is this woman, for she is observant, she is reared, she understandeth; she doth not dishonor, doth not reject her mothers, her fathers as aged."

And when this was done, when they had gone to take her to the home of the man, then they placed her before the hearth. Then they also placed her bridegroom there before the hearth. And when the two were together, they placed the woman to the left, and they placed the man to the right of the woman. And the mother of the man then went to give gifts to her daughter-in-law. She placed the shift on her, but her skirt she placed before her. And the mother of the woman then also went to give gifts. She tied a cape on [the man], but his breech clout she placed before him.

And the elderly matchmakers⁹ then tied them together. They took the corner of the man's cape; also they drew up the woman's shift; then they tied these

machtia in amotenaiotzin, in amotetaiotzin: otlacauhquj in amoiollotzin tlaçotitlaca.

Auh in jquac in otlainmantic, in ça achiton tonatiuh: njman ie ic vitze in telpucheque, in canazque in cioamontli: çan much ichoantin in jlamatque. In oncalaqujto: njman ie ic qujtoa. Tamechtomauh-tilizque: ca tictanjlico in tohpuchtzin, ma icxitzin qujmanjli:

njman ie ic tlatzomonj, neacomanaló: auh ce itequjuh catca in cioatl, in ie chicaoac, in qujmamaz: njman ie ic connacaçana in ttilquemjtl, ipan ommotlanquaquetza in cioamontli: niman ie ic commâma: njman ie ic contlatia in tlepilli, ic neztiuh in ie ujco ioqujchoacan: nenecoc mamantiuj in qujtlavilia: auh in jxqujchtin yoaiulque cioatl qujtepeujtiuj, cololujtiuj: iuhqujn tlalli cucuetlaca icampa: auh in ie qujvica, iuhqujn cemjxtli ivic: muchi tlatatl qujitta:

auh in cequjntin qujmjlvia in jmjchpuchvan. O quenmach amj y, in jchpuchtli: tla xonmjxtzaian-polo, in avel timonotzcapul, in amel ticcaquj in vapoac tlatolli, in çan avmpa ticcaquj in tenonotzaliztli, in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj: quenmach amj yn, in cioatzintli, anca tlachie, anca muzcalia, anca tlaçaquj: amo qujmixtlaça, amo qujnueuetlaça in jnanoan, yn itaoan.

Auh in ie uhquj, in ocaxitito in vmpa ichan oqujchtli: njman qujtlalia, tlecujlixquac: njman ie ic no contlalia in joqujchvi, in vncan tlecujlixquac. Auh in ie neoan cate: in cihoatl ie tlaopuchcopa qujtlalia: auh in oqujchtli, imaiauhcampa in cioatl qujtlalia. Auh in jnan oqujchtli: njman ie iauh qujtlauchtiz in jcioamon, conaquja in vipilli: auh in jcue ixpan contlalia. Auh in jnan in cioatl: njman ie no iauh qujtlauchtiz, conjlpilia in tilmatli: auh in jmaxtli ijxpan contlalilia.

Auh in titici: njman ie ic qujnnetchilpia, connacaçana in jtilma oqujchtli: no contilinja in jvipil cioatl: njman connetchilpia. Auh in jnan oqujch-

9. *Ibid.*: "las casamenteras."

together. And the man's mother then went to wash her daughter-in-law's mouth. Then she set out tamales in a wooden bowl, and sauce, [called] *tlatonilli*, which went in a polished sauce bowl. Then she fed her four mouthfuls. The woman took the lead in eating four mouthfuls; thereafter she also fed the man four mouthfuls. Then the elderly female matchmakers stood them up, introduced them into a chamber, put them to bed. When they had gone to put them to bed, then they shut them in. When the elderly matchmakers had shut them in, they came out, and [these] old women remained there; they remained guarding them, remained becoming besotted.¹⁰ They went not to their respective homes; they just awaited the dawn there.

And when four days had passed, then their straw mat was raised; they shook it out in the middle of the courtyard. Later they placed the straw mat where they were to sleep. At this time there was also eating; it was called *uexiuhlauana*.¹¹ There the in-laws took counsel with one another.¹² Then they went their ways, they dispersed, they each went to their homes. They went already content; they went feeling good in their hearts.

And also the [groom's] old women then admonished her; they counseled the daughter-in-law. They said to her: "My daughter, thy mothers, thy fathers encourage thee here. Unfortunate art thou; thou hast undertaken that which is like a great burden, a large carrying frame, which is truly heavy, which cannot be lifted. Pray to our lord that perhaps he may sustain you a little. It is as if ye scale a mountain; perhaps ye can reach the summit. Perhaps ye will encounter the reprimand of our lord. How will he incline his heart? Put thy trust in him. Behold, here the husband provideth thee with merchandise, five large cotton capes with which thou wilt negotiate at the market place, with which thou wilt procure the sustenance, the chili, the salt, the torches, and some firewood, that thou mayest prepare food.¹³ This is as thy forefathers went bequeathing [thee]. Go diligently; go covering thyself with dust; for it

tli: njman ie iauh, qujcamapacaz in jcioamon: njman conmana in tamalli, quauhcaxtica: ioan in molli in tlatonjlli molcaxxixipetztica mantiuh: njman ie ie conqaltia, nauhcamatl: ie iacattiuh in cioatl, in quiqua nauhcamatl: çatepan qujqualtia in oqujchtli no nauhcamatl. Niman ie ic qujnquetza, qujncalaquja in tlecopa, qujmonteca in cioatitici: in oqujntecato, njman ie ic qujmontzaqua: in oqujmontzacque, valqujça in titici: auh in jlamatque vncan onoque, qujnpixtoque, tlavantoque, amo vivi in jnchan: çan vncan tlatvilia.

Auh in oacic navilhvitl: njman inpetl meoa, ithoal-nepantla qujtzetzelo: çatepan conteca in petlatl, in canjn vel cochizque: in jquac yn, oc no tlaqualo: mjtoa: vexiuhlauana: vncan monanaoatia in vexiuh, njman ie ic viuuj, momoiaoa, vivi in jnchan: ie ijollo pachiuhtih, ie uel ietih in jiollo.

Auh ioan jlamatque: njman qujnonotza, qujnanaoatia in cioamontli: qujlvia. Nochpuchtzin: ca njcan mjtzellaquaoa, in monanoan, in motaoan: timotolinja ca itlan otonmaqujlti, in juhquj in vei tlamamalli, in vei cacaxtli, in vel etic, in aeoliztli: ma xicmotlatlauhtli in totecuj, aço uel achi amechmottiliz: in ma iuhquj antepetlecozque, aço uel anqujmopantlaxilizque: aço tle iquauhtzin, itetzin anqujmonamjctizque in totecuj: quē ie tlaçaoaz, yn jiollotzin: ma xicmotemachilican. Ca njcan catquj mjtzmotiamjctilia in tlapalivi: macujltzin quachtli, ic tonmonentlamachitiz in tianqujznoac: ic toconmonextiliz in cochcauitl, in neuhcauitl: in chiltzintli, in jztatzintli, in ocoztintli: auh in cetzin quauhtlatziantzin, injc tonmotlapopuchilitiez, in vncan y, ontlacauhtij y motechiuhçaoan: ma xonmopilqujtito, ma xonmotlalvitito, ca tonenexçaujl in tlatlicpac: ca aiaç teca, ca ie ic timjztocaujlia: tle ticmochitia.

10. *Ibid.*: "las viejas casamenteras, que se llaman titici (que eran como mñjstras del matrio [sic]) estauillos guardando, a la puerta: y allí beujan..."

11. *uexiuhlauana*: "the in-laws become intoxicated."

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "en este tiempo comjā, y beujan, dentro de casa los parientes de la nobia, con los parientes del nobio, y allí se tratauan todos como cuñados, y afines, y como tales se hablaban, y conocian..."

13. *Cf. ibid.*: "con que aveys de gujar la comjda..." Derivation of *tonmotlapopuchilitiez* is problematical; possibly it may be connected with *poçonia*.

is our way of doing things on earth; for no one is concerned with one; for already we abandon thee. Take heed of this."

Then also the woman's mother, his mother-in-law, spoke to the groom: "Thou art here; thou art our eagle, our ocelot; already thou art our precious necklace, our precious feather, our child. May [the marriage] not seem to thee as in jest, for already it is thy [new] world, already it is thy [new] nature, already thy life is another; for no more will thy heart be evil; for already thou hast left behind the evils of youth — intoxication, laughter, scoffing; for already thou art a married person.¹⁴ Exert thyself with the staff, the carrying frame. Place the strands of chili, the salt cakes, the nitrous soil, the strings of fish on thy back; travel from city to city. Torment, suffering will afflict thy heart, thy body, in another's corner, by another's wall, in another's portals.¹⁵ Thou art to struggle when thou wilt cross the gorges, the mountains, the plains. Thou art to suffer the heat, thou art to endure the wind. Thou art to suffer patiently when thou art to eat the dried provisions, the toasted tortillas, the parched maize. Wilt thou perhaps acquire the sweetness, the fragrance, the warmth of our lord?¹⁶ Doth that which someone eateth, drinketh perchance just fall before him? Are the necessities of life not procured by work? Exhaust well thy force to witness the mercy of our lord. This is all thou must hear, for already we leave thee."

Niman ic no quijlhvia in tlapalivi, in cioatl ynan: in jmonnan. Ca njcan tica in titoquauh, in titoce-louh: ca ie titocozquj, ca ie titoquetzal, ca ie titoco-netzin: macaçamo xommaujlmati, ca ie motlalticpac, ca ie mjaxcotian, ca ie centetl in monemjiz, ca aiocmo aviliez in moiollo, ca ie oticcauh in telpuchtlavelilo-caiutl in neivintiliztli, in vetzquijztli, in camanalli, ca ie titlapaltzintli: ma itlan xonmaqujti in topilli, in cacaxtli: ma mocujtlapan xocontlali in chilçolotl, in jztatapalcatl, in tequjxqujtlaltzin, in mjchtlaçultzin: ma xoconmotlatocitli in aoacan, in tepeoacan: a toneoaz, a chichinacaz in moiollotzin in monacaio-tzin: in texomolco, in tecaltech, in tetlatzacujltitlan: a ticmjhijoujltiz in ticmopanaviliz in atlauhtli, in tepetl, in jxtlaoatl: a titonalciauhtiaz, a tehecaciauhtiaz: a ticmopaccaihijoujltiz in ticmoqualtiz in jtacaqua-vaccatzintli, in totopuchtzintli, in jzqujtzintli: cujx ticmaxcaviliz in jtzopelica, in javiaca, in jtotonca, in jiamanca in totecujto: cujx aca çan jxpan vetzi in qujqua, in quj: ca amo axcaujlo, ca uel ontlamj in tlapaliviztli: injc motta in jtetlaocolil totecujto. Ca ie ixqujch in ticmocaqujtia: ca ie ic timjztocavilia.

14. Corresponding Spanish text: "porque ya soys del estado de los casados, (que es tlapalivij)..."

15. Ibid.: "dormiendo a los rincones, en las casas ajenas, en las portadas de las casas donde no conoceys..."

16. Ibid.: "no penseys hijo, que de aquí adelante aveys de vivir e rregalos, y en delicadeces..."



Twenty-fourth Chapter. Here is told that which the natives did to inform their daughter when already she was pregnant.

When the child began to develop, when the baby was conceived, drink was prepared, a banquet was arranged, food was prepared. Our leaders displayed flowers, canes of tobacco. They assembled, they gathered together the mothers, the fathers, the relatives of the woman [and] of the man.

First there was drinking, there was eating. Then the man's old men, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones, seated themselves. [One of them] said: "Ye have settled yourselves here; our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath seated you here, ye who are revered. I speak in the manner of the commoner. Our lord hath assembled ye here, ye who are our in-laws, ye whom the lord of the near, of the nigh, the night, the wind, hath accorded [life]; ye who provide the shade, who provide the shadow; ye who conduct yourselves on earth as silk cotton trees, as cypresses. Unto ye enter all who reside in the mountains, on the deserts — the common people, the humble eagle warriors, the humble ocelot warriors. Unto ye there is crying out, and from ye there is encouragement.

"Perhaps ye are without tranquility; we shall trouble you, we shall embarrass you. Perhaps that which ye administer for our lord is immense, immeasurable, infinite. And ye [are concerned with] the city, and with the load, the burden, the city subdivisions. We shall trouble you, for here we set before you a word or two, a trifle — your task, your affairs, your creditable works which ye grasp, which ye heed.

"And let those who are here, the old men, the old women, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones, hear it! Our lord hath shown his mercy, our lord desireth now to show mercy to the girl, the child, the maiden, N.; he desireth to place within her a precious necklace, a precious feather; for the child

Injc cempoalli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtóa: in tlein qujchíoia, in njcan tlaca, in jquac ie otztli imjchpuch, injc qujtemachitiaia.

In jquac chipinj, in motlalia piltzintli: achivalo, tlaqualolo, tlaqualchioalo: in toueliacaoan xuchitl, ijcti qujnexitia: qujnoalcentlalia, qujnoalololoa in tenaoan, in tetaoan, teoaiulque, in jtech cioatl, in jtech oqujchtli.

Achtopa atlio, tlaqualo: njman oalmotlalia in vevetque, in jtech oqujchtli in tzonjztaque, in quaiztaque: qujtoa. Ca njcan anoalmouetzitia: a ca njcan amechalmotlalia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: in amehoantzitzin in maceoallopán nontlatóa, in antovexiuhztiztiooan ca njcan amechmocentlalia in totecujo: in amehoantzitzin in oc amechmocavilia in tloque, naoaque in iooalli, in checatl: in oc amehoantin amecauhioa, aceoalloa: in oc anpochome, amaveveme anmuchiuhtimanj in tlalticpac, in amotlantzinco mocalaquja, in cenquaujtl, in cemjxtlaoatl manj, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli, in jcnouquauhtli, in jcnocelutl, ca amotech oalmotzatzilia: auh ca amotech oalmellaquaoa:

at amo ivian ammoietzticate, tamechtotlapoltilizque, tamechtotlalcaoaltilizque, at ixachi, at amo tamachiuhqj, at amo tlanquj in anqujmachililia in totecujo: auh in atl, in tepetl: auh ie ie in tlatqujtl, in tlamamalli: auh in tlaxilacalli. Tamechtotlapoltilizque: a ca njcan cententzin, cencamatzin: achitzin, amjxpantzinco tictlalia in amotequjtzin, in amomachiztzin, in amocaqujztequjtzin: anqujmocujlia, anqujmocaqujtia:

auh qujmocaqujtia in monoltitoque in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tzonjztaque, in quaiztaque: ca otlacux in jiollotzin in totecujo. A ca nelle axcan in piltontli, in conetontli, in jchpuchtontli in. N. ca qujcnomatiznequj in totecujo: cozcatl, quetzalli ijtic qujmaqujliznequj: ca oitlacauih, ca oitlacauihpilo in

ye here. And that which occurreth, which is said, is perhaps not by way of rejoicing, not by way of friendship; perhaps it is of weeping, of tears. Here we thus assemble, here where our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath brought us together.

"Verily, now, we here open the coffer, the reed chest; here we marvel at, we behold that which we should not see, which we should not hear. Perhaps the old men, the old women, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones, should hear this. Nowhere can we still summon them, for they have departed, for they have gone to reside in the water, in the cave; for our lord hath destroyed them, hidden them. These were our forefathers who lived as the really old men, the really old women, who went casting a shadow, who went providing shade, who went forming the great silk cotton trees, the cypresses for those who became their subjects. And they were the ones who went not hiding their hands, their feet; rather, those who went extending their wings, their tail feathers, those who went working in behalf of others, those who went not neglecting things. So did that one do. May ye esteem your ancestor, N. And so did that [other] one, N., do.

"Might it yet have been in their time! Might it yet have been in their presence! Might it have been they [who yet lived]! Might it yet have been in their presence! O that they might have heard, might have known of this marvel, which we understand, which we heed, which our lord wisheth to bring down upon us, wisheth to create for us, the precious necklace, the precious feather, which he wisheth to give us, the life which he wisheth to place within the girl, the child, the maiden; for they would have wept over it, would have been apprehensive over it, would have marveled, would have considered it a precious thing.

"But behold, verily, now, certainly such is the condition. Our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath left [us] in need. No more is there strengthening, no longer is there encouragement, no more is there aging, no more are there the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones, the old men, the old women, the real weepers, the sorrowers, those who went becoming great. Who will weep for it? Who will be apprehensive for it? Who will be the one who marveleth?

"Here our lord bringeth forth sons, bringeth forth children. We are these, and we are such as these, we the spoilers of our lord, we the neglecters. Here we

coaiotica, at amo icnjuhioica: at choqujztli, at ixaiotl in qujça, in mjtoa: in njcan ic titocentlalia, in njcan ic techmocenujxtilia in totecujō, in tloque, naoaque.

A ca nelle axcan: ca njcan tictlapoa in toptli, in petlacalli: a ca njcan tontlamaviçoa, a tontlachia in atotlachiaia, in atotlacaquja: at vevetque, at ilamatque, at tzonjztaque, quaiiztaque in tlacaqujan yn: acan oc ie tiqujmontanjizque, ca oiaque, ca omo-tecato in atlan, in oztoc: ca oqujnmopolvi, ca oqujnmotlatili in totecujō, in totechihcauan, in vel vevetque, in vel ilamatque muchiuhtij: in vel ceoallotij, in vel malacaiotivi, in vevei puchotl, avevetl muchiuh-tivi yn ointlannecalaqujloc: auh in amo ointlan caha-qujco in jmma, in jmjxi: in oqujçoçoaco in jmahaz, in jncujtlapiltzin: in oteca muchioaco, in aotlaxicca-oaco: ca iuhquj muchiuhtih o, ma xoconmottilican in amotechiuhcauh in. N. auh ca iuhquj muchiuhtih o, in N.

A ma oc ymatian, ma oc imjxpan: a ma oc ichoan, ma oc imjxpan: a ma oc ichoan qujcaqujn, qujmatin, injn tlamaviçolli: a in ticcu: in ticcaquj in topan qujmotemoujiznequj, in topan qujmochiuj-liznequj in totecujō: a in ce cozcatl, in ce quetzalli, a in techmomaqujiznequj: a in ioliliztli ijtic qujma-qujiznequj in piltontli, in conetontli, in jchpuch-tontli: a ca qujchocazquja, ca qujteupoazquja: ca ichoantin tlamaviçozquia, auh tlatlaçocamatizquja.

Auh iz nelle axcan: ça nelli mach in tlaiuhcan, in tlaiuhcatlatilia in totecujō, in tloque, naoaque: aoc tlaopaoa, aoc tlachicaoa, aocmo tlapipinja: aocaque in tzonjztaque, in quaiiztaque, in vevetque, in jlamatque, in vel chocanj, in tlaocujan, in veucintin muchiuhtij: aqujn qujchocaz, aqujn qujteupoaz, aqujn oc nen tlamaviçoanj:

ca njcan motlapilqujxtilia in totecujō, motlacion-qujxtilia, ça tehoan, yn: auh ça tiuhque yn, in titlalatlacocaoan totecujō, in titlanenqujxticaoa: njcan titla-

neglect things, here we ruin things. Who will exhort you? Who will return, who will respond to your discourse?

"If it were yet in the presence of, yet in the time of your forefathers whom we have named, whose heads we have uplifted, whom we have grasped by the head, they would have returned your discourse in grand manner, and they would have wept, sighed, marveled considerably. But now, thus are we useless; useless are we; unfinished, incomplete, stuttering, stammering, unsettled, unpronounced is that with which we return, with which we respond to your discourse.

"And now, verily, behold the mysteries of the lord of the near, of the nigh, which are not determined here, for they are his possessions. Perhaps we shall deserve some little thing, perhaps we shall merit some little thing. Perhaps some little thing will become the desert, the merit, of our progenitors, those who have already gone beyond to reside, those whom our lord hath destroyed, hath hidden; those who have departed, those who have gone to reside in the place of no openings, of no outlets. Perhaps their thorn, their maguey, which they departed leaving, which they planted deep, will bud, will blossom. Perhaps their weeping, their sorrowing will come to earth. In what manner doth our lord array the girl, the child? For our merit, our desert is in the coffer, the reed chest of our lord. We speak in darkness; we dream, we see in dreams."

"And behold, verily, now, perhaps our lord will bring to pass the feast day, the marvel. Perhaps in some manner that with which she is adorned will be born — a baby boy, a baby girl. Perhaps we shall look into the face of that of which we here dream, that which we here see in dreams.

"And now we cause you headaches, stomach pains. May there yet be devotion. May we yet have faith in our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. Shall we perhaps deserve, shall we perhaps merit that we shall behold its face? Shall, however, this perhaps be all? Will she lose the tender little thing? Will it perhaps not see the light of day? Will it perhaps not come to be born?

"Rest your bones, your bodies. May our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, rest you in peace."

nenquijxtia, njcan titlanenpoloa: aqujn amechmotla-tlauhtiliz, aqujn qujcuepaz, aqujn qujlochtiz amjhijotzin:

intla oc imjxpan, intla oc inmatian in amotechiuhcaon in tiqujmonteneoa, in tiqujmontzonteconaco-cuj, in jnquatla tiqujmonana: ha vei injc qujcuepaz-quja in amjhijotzin: auh ha vei injc chocazquja, tlaocoiazquja, tlamaviçozquja. Auh in axcan: ça nen tiuhque, ça nen tehoan aihuhtlancaiuhtl, aihuqujz-quj popolonquj, tzatzacqij, aitalililoia, aitenquijxtilian: ic toconcuepa, toconjlochua, in amjhijotzin, in amotlatoltzin.

Auh iz nelle axcan: ca itoptzin, ca ipetlacaltzin in tloque, naoaque: aiz in njcan in moteneoa, ca inexcaviltzin: aço itla tolhviltiz, aço itla tomaceoaltiz: auh aço itla imjlvil, in maceoal muchioaz in totechiuhcaon, in ie nachca onmantivi: in oqujnmopolhvi, in oqujnmotlatili totecujo: in oiaque, in omoteco in apuchqujiaoiacan, in atlecallocan: aço xotlaz, aço cueponiz in jnvitz, in jnmeuh, aço vecatlan in contlazteoaque, in qujtlaqujtiaque: aço tlalticpac qujçaqujuh, in jnchoqujz, in jntlaocul, quenamj ic qujmapanjlia in totecujo, in piltontli, in conetontli: ca itoptzin, ca ipetlacaltzin in totecujo: anca tle tomaceoal, anca tle tolhviltiz, ca ioacan in titlatoa: a ca titemijquj, ticochitleoa:

auh iz nelle axcan, cujx qujmochiviliz in totecujo, in jlvhiçolli, in tlamaviçolli: cujx tlalticpac qujçaz in quenamj, ic mapantica in piltontli, in jchpuchton-tli: cujx ijxco, cujx ijcpac titlachiazque, in njcan tictemijquj, in njcan ticochitleoa:

Auh in axcan: amotzontecontzin, amelchiqujuh-zin tiqueoa, ticquauhtilia: manoçoc tlateumachiliz-tli muchioa, manoçoc tictotemachilican in totecujo in tloque, naoaque: cujx tolviltiz, tomaceoaltiz, cujx ijxco titlachiazque: cujx noço ixqujchtzin conmopol-viz in atzintli, cujx amo qujmottitiliz in tlanextli, cujx amo tlalticpac qujçaqujuh.

Manoço xicmocevilican: in amomjiotzin, in amonacaiotzin: ma amechmotlamatcatlalili in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque.

3. Ibid.: "porque la merced, que nos a hecho niño señor, esta en ella abicondida, como en un cofre: por uentura no mereceremos, ni seremos dignos de verla, y gozarla: por uentura sera, como sueño que se pasa en vano..."

Then the orator turned to the one who had conceived, the one already pregnant. If she were a noblewoman, he said to her:⁴

Niman ivicpa mocuepa in tlatlatlauhtianj: in oitla-cauh, in ie otztli: intla pilli; qujlvia.

⁴. See Chap. 11, n. 6.



Twenty-fifth Chapter. Here are told the words of greeting with which they greeted or with which they exhorted the pregnant one; with which the youth's parents admonished her.¹ And they told her to thank the gods for their blessings; and to guard herself that nothing abort the conceived baby. They made her see all the ills by which abortion might result. And when they had admonished her, they exhorted her mother, her father. And they also replied. And the pregnant one likewise exhorted her father-in-law, her mother-in-law.

"O my beloved granddaughter, O precious person, O precious bracelet, O precious green stone, O precious turquoise, O hair, O fingernail: truly now the god, the ruler, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath remembered thee. Within thee he wisheth to place a life; he wisheth to provide thee with a precious necklace; he wisheth to provide thee with a precious feather. [Is it because] perhaps thou hast sighed? Perhaps thou hast wept? Perhaps thou hast reached out thy arms unto him? Perhaps thou hast supplicated our lord, the night, the wind, [at] the division of the night, [at] midnight? And perhaps thou hast held vigil? Perhaps thou hast been industrious in sweeping, and in offering incense? Perhaps at this time our lord hath instructed thee, hath shown thee mercy? Perhaps for this reason it was determined above us, in the land of the dead, in the beginning, that our lord wisheth to place life within thee?² Perhaps it is true that, perchance, the lord, our prince, Quetzalcoatl, the creator, the author, hath permitted it? And perhaps Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl stated it? Perhaps the instruction was that a child be born.³

"And speak not to thyself; say not: 'Already I am carrying something; already I am this way; already I am pregnant.' And do not become proud, do not

Ic cenpoalli onmacujlli capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in tetlapaloliztlatolli, injc qujtlapaloaia: manoço injc qujtlatlauhtiaia in otztli, injc qujnonotzaia in tel-puchequ: ioan qujlviaia injc qujntlaçocamatiz in teteu, in jpampa in jnticneliliz: auh injc mopiaz in ma itla ic oli, in omoatlali piltzintli: muchi qujttiaia in tecoco injc netlaolinjlo. Auh in oconnonotzque: njman qujntlatlatlauhtia in jnan, in jta: auh no tlananqujliaia: auh in otztli no qujntlatlauhtiaia in jmonta, in jmonnan.

Noxviuhticatzine, tlaçotitlacatle: maqujztle, chachiuhle, teuxivitle, tzontle, iztitle. A ca nel axcan: amjtzmolnamjqujlia in teutl, in tlatoanj, in tloque, naoaque: a mjtlic qujmaqujliznequj, in ioliliztli: mjtzmozcaiotiliznequj, mjtzmoquetzallotiliznequj: cujx otonelcicuh, cujx otonchocac, cujx oivic tonmaçouh cujx otoconmotlaitlanjlili in totecujto: in iooalli, in ehecatl: in iooalli xelivi, in tlacoiooan: auh cujx otoncochiçac, cujx oitlan tonac in ochpanalli, auh in tlenamactli, cujx vncan omjtzmoçaqujti, cujx vncan omjtzmocnoittili in totecujto: cujx ic itolo in topan in mjctlan, in iooaijan, in mjtlic qujmotlaliliznequj in totecujto, in ioliliztli: cujx ie nelli, cujx oqujmacauh in tlatcatl in topiltzin in quetzalcoatl in teicoan, in techioanj: auh cujx oqujto in vme tecutli, in vme cioatl: cujx omoquapano in tlatolli.

Auh ma cucl mjtlic titlato: ma cucl tiqujto: ca ie njtlatqujtica, ca ie ivin nonca y, ca ie notztli: auh ma ticpopouh, ma mjxco, mocpac tiqueuh: mjtlic tlama-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Es platica de alguno de los parientes del..."

2. Ibid.: "por uentura esta fue la causa, porque se determino en los cielos, y en el infierno, ante del principio del mundo, que se os hiciesse esta merced..."

3. Ibid.: "por uentura a lo determinado el que reside en el cielo, un hombre, y una muger, que se llama ome tecutli, y vme cioatl: por uentura esto esta ya a sido determinado..." In Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, p. 162, the end of this passage reads: "esto está ya así determinado"; in the MS, the -do in sido may have been imperfectly erased.

become arrogant! Our lord will know of that within thee; he knoweth of things,⁴ he seeth within the rock, the tree. Soon something will befall thee; our lord will bring about for us the death of our child. Soon something will therefore cause the baby, the tender thing, to be stillborn. And also the lord of the near, of the nigh, will bring sickness, pestilence down upon thee. For truly our desire for a child is fulfilled by our lord. And indeed thou hast blasphemed, thou hast taken it jokingly.

"Perhaps, as thy merit, perhaps there emerge the thorn, the maguey of thy great-grandfathers, of thy forefathers, which they go bequeathing to thee." Perhaps [our lord] desireth that the spine, the maguey which the old men planted deep in the soil, should sprout, should flower. Perhaps our lord wisheth to make images, likenesses of those whom he hath destroyed, whom he hath hidden. Perhaps he wisheth to lift the heads of those who will go increasing in dignity.

"And now, O my beloved daughter, O youngest one, be especially welcomed! Be especially careful; let there be thy tears, thy sighs. Be diligent in the sweeping, the cleaning, the arranging of things, the cutting [of wood], the fanning [of the fire], and the offering of incense. Hold vigil. Do not practise the sweetness, the agreeableness of sleep. Especially sigh with all thy might; [say]: 'How will it be in a few days? How will this be with us?'"

"And behold still another thing: be a guardian of the treasure of our lord. Let there be no mockery by thee. And do nothing to cause sickness to the blessing of our lord with which thou art adorned. Guard thyself never to seize, to raise up anything very heavy. Do not take excessively, do not give thyself excessively to the sweat bath. Do not kill it; do not overdo the heat [of the sweat bath]."

"And behold also: may the eagle, the ocelot hear it, that is to say, her husband, our son, the eagle, the ocelot, N., who is seated [here]. Here is a word with which we command thee, because we are knowledgeable, we who are the old men. Do not make too much sport with the one who is with thee. Especially are ye not to be excessive in the carnal act, for you

tiz in totecujo, in tetl, in quavitl ijtic tlamati, tlachia: çan cucl itla mopan oallaz, topilmjccao techmaitiliz in totecujo: çan cucl itla ic onolinjz in piltzintli, in atzintli: auh noce temuxtli, checatl mopan qujoal-motemoviliz in tloque, naoaque: canel noço topil-neccaio techmaitilia in totecujo, ioan canel noço otichicotlato, oc ucl timonelchiuhca:

acace mote momaceoal, aço oalpanvetzi in jnivitzi, in jnmeuh in machocolhoan, in motechiuhcaoan in mjtzmocavilitivi: aço qujmoxotlatiliznequj, aço qujmocueponaltiliznequj in vitztl, in metl in vecatlan: tlallan contlazteoaque in vevetque: aço ichoantin qujnpatilotiznequj, qujmxiptlatiznequj in totecujo, in oqujnmopolhvi, in oqujnmotlatili: aço qujnmotzonteconacocujliznequj in veveixtitivi.

Auh in axcan nochpuchtze, xocoiotle: ma oc cenca moiolicatzin, ma oc cenca tle ticmomachitia, ma oc mochoqujz, ma oc melciciviliz ic xoie, xonmoietztie: ma oc itlan xonaquj in ochpanoaztli, in tlacujcujliztli, in chico, tlanaoac tlaviqujiztli, tlatequjiztli, in tla-ecapeviliztli: auh in copalli, in tlenamactli: ma ioaalli xoconjtzto, macamo xoconvelicachioa, macamo xoconaviacachioa in cochiztli: oc cenca oc moceniollocopa in xonelcicivi, quenmach nenti in macujl, in matlac: anca quen tamjque o.

Auh izca oc centetl: ma oc xoconmomalhvi, in jaxcatzin in totecujo, ma ic tontlaquelo: auh ma neaticma itla ic toconocolizcujti in jtlamacaoaltzin totecujo, in quenamj ic timapantica, oc xonmomalvi: maca oc tle cenca etic xoconmotzitzqujli, xoconmacocujli: ma cenca tocontequjcu, ma cenca toconmotequjmaca in temazcalli: ma titlamjcti, ma titlatleten.

Auh izcatquj ioan: manoço qujcactic in quauhtli ocelutl, qujtoznequj, in jnamjc, in topiltzin in quauhtli in ocelutl in N. in meviltitica: ca izca cencamatl ic timjtznaoatia, tel titoltequjuh in tivevetque: ma cenca oc mahavillacanec in mocetca, ma oc cenca oc anmotequjquati: ca anqujtlacozque in quenamj, ic mjtzmanpanjlia totecujo: oalxoxoleuhtiaz mapiltza-

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "mírad que no atribuyays esta merced a vuestros merecimientos, porque si esto hizierdes, no se le podrá absconder a nro señor, lo que dentro de vos pensardes..."

5. Ibid.: "por ventura hija, por tu soberuja no mereceras, que salga a luz lo que esta principiado, y viene ya: por ventura ya qujere brotar la generacion de tus visabuelos, y tartarabuelos de tus padres, que te hecharon aca..."

will harm that with which our lord hath adorned thee. It will cause it to be feeble; it will come forth with lamed fingers [and] toes. If perhaps something is our merit, if the creation of our lord is born, it will be covered with filth. And verily it is said: "Thou wilt die in childbirth. For this will cause the baby to be stuck, when no longer at the proper time the semen goeth forth; for it exceedeth glue in adhesiveness. It is so adhesive, so viscous, that thou wilt thereby perish."⁶

"And do not view that which is evil, that which frighteneth one. The old men, the old women departed saying how thou wert to act. O my beloved daughter, O youngest one, O little dove, O little one, this is all. By this thy mothers, thy fathers, thy forefathers, the old men, the old women who are here encourage thee,⁷ animate thee. And all things they make clear to thee; everywhere they cause thee to conduct thyself, everywhere they instruct thee that thou art their precious necklace, that thou art their precious feather. They hide nothing, they cover nothing, because they are wise. And of this may thou take much heed; may thou be especially welcomed. May thou not be endangered by something, may nothing cause thee to take sick, may thou not be harmed by something. May we all yet have faith in our lord, as to how it will grow light, how it will dawn, what he by whom we live will dispose. O youngest one, be heedful."

Then [one of his kinsmen] admonished the mothers, the fathers, or the mothers-in-law, the fathers-in-law. He supplicated them; he said to them:

"Ye who are present, ye who possess precious necklaces, ye who possess precious feathers, here verily now are those who were cut from your bosoms, from your laps, N. [and N.], who are here; they are your hair, they are your fingernails. Truly, now, we have acquired veritable wealth by virtue of our lord, for we have beheld in the coffer, in the reed chest, that which we should not discern, that which we should not behold, that which we should not understand.⁸ Perhaps our lord hath mistaken us for others, for they have gone, our lord hath removed those who go

tzapal, xopiltatzapal in quijçaqujuh: intla ça nen ylla tomaceoal, intla tlalticpac quijçaquj, in jtlachi-oaltzin totecujó: auh oallaelneliuhiaz: auh nel mjtóa, timocioaquetzaz: ca ichoatl quijtlaçaloltiz in piltzintli, in aiocmo ymonecian oniauh xinachtli: ca quijpanavia in tzacutli injc çaçalitc, injc çaçalic, ic timjqujz:

auh macamo xiqujtta in tlein haictli in tema-mauhti: conjtotivi in vevetque, in jlamatque, iuhquj ticchioaz. O nochpuchtze, xocoiotle, cocotze, tepitze: ixqujch y, aic aco mjtzilpia, mjtztetzioloa in monan-oan, in motaoan, in motechiuhcaoan in vevetque, in jlamatque, in njcan monoltitoque: auh muchi mjtzonmoottitilia, novian mjtzonmonemjtilia, novian mjtzonmotlatlatchialtilia, injc tincozquj, injc tinquetzal, hatle contlatia, hatle conjnaia, ca tel imjtolte-qujuh. Auh injn ma oc cenca tle ticmatcatzintli: ma oc cenca moiolicatzin, ma itla ic tonmococotzino: auh ma itla ic tontlacocolizcujti, ma itla ic tonmotlamjctili: ma oc timuchintin tictotemachilican in totecujó, anca quen tonaz, tlatviz qujmuchiviliz, in jpalne-moanj. O xocoiotle: tle ticmatcatzintli.

Niman qujnnonotza in nanti in tati: in anoço monnanti, montati: in ichoatl tlatlatlauhtia, qujm-jlvia.

Ca amonmeviltiticate in amehoantzitzin, in ancoz-queque, in anquetzaleque: aviz nelle axcan ino amoxillantzinco, ino amotozcatlantzinco, tlacoton, in oneoatica in N: a in antzoneque, in amjzteque. A ca nelle axcan: ca onelli titocujltonoque: in jpal-tzinco totecujó: ca otontlachixque in topco, in petla-calco: in atotlacaquja, in atotlachiaia, in atotlamatia: at techtlanevia in totecujó, ca oiaque, ca oqujnmo-polvi in totecujó, in vel nanti, in vel tati, in veveintin muchiuhtivi: auh imônjca, in teputzco xolopicaiotl: a pillotl, conceiutl toconchioa: ie can nel çan tiqjm-

6. Ibid.: "si plugujere a dios, que merezcamos que nazca vuestra criatura, que dios os a dado, y venjere muy embuelta de la suziedad, que causa el acto carnal: por uentura murireys en el parto, porque aquella viscosidad es pegajosa, y impidra la salida de vuestra criatura, porq̃ vuo efusion de simjente, sin auer para que, y así se haze pegajosa, como engrudo, y podreys murir del parto..."

7. Ibid.: "y son palabras de los viejos antiguos, vuestros antepasados, y de las viejas que aquí estan presentes..."

8. Ibid.: "porque avemos sabido, lo que esta en el cofre, y en el arca encerrado, que es la criatura, que esta en el vientre de la moça..."

becoming the real mothers, the real fathers, the old ones. And in their absence we perform foolishness, babyishness, childishness. Where, verily, can we get them? Have they perchance departed to a place whence they will not return? Will they perchance in a short time come passing by? Will they come appearing? Will they perchance perform the duty of mothers, the duty of fathers? For they have departed forever; for our lord hath placed them in a coffer; he hath placed them in a reed chest. For we know that it hath been forever; they are gone forever, completely finished. For here we obtain the reward in their behalf; in their absence we listen for them.

"And behold, verily now, what doth our lord desire? Perhaps we shall obtain something as merit; something as desert. Perhaps we shall merit that of which we here dream, that which we here see in dreams. We speak in the land of the dead. In what manner is your precious necklace, your precious feather, our granddaughter, arrayed? Yet in our time, in our presence, may we marvel at the coming of light, the dawning, which our lord will bring about. May we look into his countenance [to know] in what manner our lord will reward us.

"For ye are already here; motherhood, fatherhood are exercised here. Consummate your motherhood, your fatherhood; still admonish, still cry out to them although they are already like those not babies, not children; no more wishing to perform in negligence, no more wishing to perform reluctantly on earth, [and yet] they are rude, peevish.⁹ We beseech you that your spirit, your words, may yet be consummated. May they yet weep, may they yet sorrow, may they yet sigh. Perhaps it will come to pass in that which we desire as merit. Certainly we only dream, we only see in dreams; likewise the lord of the near, of the nigh, may be wrathful, may change the manner in which he will dispose. May you be here that your words [not] be in vain."¹⁰

The mother, the father [of the maiden] replied to those who had made the entreaty. They said: "You have inclined your hearts, your bodies; you have suffered aches and pains in your heads, in your stomachs; may we not here have exposed you to maladies,

ontanjlianj, cujx çan cana viloaia oalmjlochtizque: cujx muztla, viptla onqujçaqujvi, onmoquetzaqujvi, cujx qujoalmatizque in nantequjtl, in tatequjtl: ca ocnmaian movicaque, ca oqujnmotoptemjli, oqujn-mopetlacaltemjli in totecujo: ca ocnmaian catca, ca cenonqujz, ca centlamjc ticmati: ca ie njcan inpal-tzinco tontlacnopilvia, imônjca, in teputzco tiqujm-ontotlacaqujlilia.

Aviz nelle axcan: anca quen qujmonequjlilia in totecujo, cujx itla maceoalli, cujx itla ilhvilli, cujx tocnopiltiz, cujx tomaceoaltiz, in njcan tictemjquj, in njcan ticcochitleoa: ca mjectlan in tontlatoa, quenamj ic mapantica in amocoquj, in amoquetzal, in toxviuhtzin: ma iê oc tomatia, ma oc tixpan, ma titlamaviçocan in tona, tlatvi qujmuchiviliz totecujo: ma ijxco, ma icpac titlachiacan, in quenamj in tech-momaqujliz totecujo.

A ca ie njcan amonmeviltiticate: a ca njcan onqujça, in naiotl, in taiotl: manoço ontlantie in amonaiotzin, in amotaiotzin, ma oc xiqujmonmonochilican, ma oc xiqujmonmotzatzililican, macivin ie iuhque, in: âpipiltotonti, âcoconetotonti, aoc tla-aviliccoznequj, aoc tlaqueliccoznequj in talticpac, amonotzallanj, amotzatzillanj: ca tamechontotla-tlauhtilia, ma oc ontanto in amjhijo, in amotentzin, in amotlatoltzin: ma oc onhocacan, ma oc ontlaco-iacan, ma oc onelcivicican: cujx nelli yn, in tlein topanti, in tlein tomaceoaltiznequj: ca çan titemjquj, ca çan ticcochitleoa: ca çan no ichoantzin moçomaz, monenequjz in tloque, naoaque: quen qujoalmone-qujlitz: ma oc nen amotentzin, ic xonmoietztiecan.

Tlatoa in tenan, teta qujnnanqujlilia in otlatlatlaub-tique: qujtoa. Otlacauhquj in amoiollotzin, in amonacaiotzin: amotzontecontzin, amelchiqujuhtzin eoa, amotzontecontzin quauhti: ma cocoliztli, ma temux-tli, ma hecatl, a njcan tamechtecaviltiliti, ca oancon-

9. Ibid.: "hagays vfo oficio de padres, y madres, con mucha diligencia, conviene que exorteyz mucho a vros hijos, aunque son ya adultos, pero el es muchacho, y ella es muchacha, no saben aun de quanta importâcia sea este negocio, porque aun burlan, y juegan como muchachos, segun la costumbre del mûdo...."

10. Ibid.: "perseuerad en hablar, los, para que hagan, lo que conviene."

to sickness and pestilence. Ye have taken to yourselves, ye have grasped the word or two of your duty as mother, as father, which yet our lord accordeth you. In the meantime, ye become protectors: ye become the silk cotton tree, the cypress.¹¹ Still ye take from them the bundle, the carrying frame; ye help carry the bundle for those who already reside beyond, those whom our lord hath destroyed, hath hidden: our forefathers, those who bequeathed, who as they departed placed on your backs, on your shoulders the bundle, the carrying frame, the burden, that which is to be carried, that which is to be borne, the duty of motherhood, the duty of fatherhood.

"And now the coffer, the reed chest are open; there issueth the word or two of thy motherhood, thy fatherhood, which the old men, the old women, our ancestors, brought forth for you as they departed, and which ye have taken from them, which ye have learned from them: that which lieth inert, which lieth folded in your laps, in your breasts; which ye have preserved, guarded, for your beloved children, the teachable ones, the trainable ones, the babies, the children who are here. Though like these, perhaps they already think themselves discreet; they do not yet imagine that to no avail they live on earth. They know not if perhaps the earth is a very good place where perhaps there is rejoicing. Perhaps they will contrive to find pleasure in sleep. Perhaps they will not engage in sweeping, in the offering of incense. And perhaps they will not say: 'What, if anything, is the lord of the near, of the nigh, determining for us in perhaps five days, in ten days?' Perhaps we shall obtain, perhaps we shall merit, perhaps we shall realize that of which we dream, that which we see in dreams, his possession, his creation, the life which our lord wisheth to present. Ye have finished your words; everywhere ye have made them known to them; everywhere ye have caused them to reflect; nothing more have ye left out. And also like them, we who are the old men, we who are the old women have once again taken, grasped [the counsel] such that ye are our mothers, ye are our fathers, such that once again we become your sons. Ye have shown mercy; ye have inclined your hearts. We take, we clutch in our fists that which hath come forth, that which flew out as a spark, your motherhood, your

mocujlique, ca oanconmanjlique in cententli, a i cencamatl in amonantequjtzin, in amotatequjtzin, in oc ic amechmocavilia in totecuj, in oc amehoantiztin ancuxaneque anteputzeque amonmuchih-tzino a oc amehoantiztin amonpuchoti, amonaveveti: oc anqujnqujmjlpatla, anqujncacaxpatla, anqujnqujmjlcevia in ie nachca onmantivi in oqujnmopolhvi, in oqujnmotlatili in totecuj, in totechihcaon in oamocujtlapantzinco, amoteputztzinco concauheteoque, contlaliteoque in qujmjlli: in cacaxtli, in tlamamalli, in tlatconj, in tlamamalonj, in nantequjtl, in tatequjtl.

Auh in axcan ca oallapouh in toptli, in petlacalli: ca oalqujz in cententzin in cencamatzin in amoniotzin, in amotaiotzin: in amechonmomaqujliteoque in vevetque, in jlamatque in totechihcaon: auh in anqujnmocujlilique, in anqujnmocaqujlilique: in amoxillantzinco in amotozcatlantzinco cepoatoc, cuelpachihutoc: in anqujnmotqujlilitoque, in anqujnmopialilitoque in amopilhoantiztin, in jzcaltilonj, in oapaoalonj: ca iz vncate in pipiltotonti, in coconetotonti, mace ihque in, mach ie onmozcalia, aoc nen qujpquj in nemj talticpac: amo mati in aço quaqualcán, in aço papacoa talticpac: aço convelicahiuhtozque in cochiztli, aço conjcelizque in ochpanalli, in tlenamactli: auh aço conjtozque intlaça tlein topan qujmonequjlitica in tloque, naoaque: in quen macujl, in quen matlac: cujx tocnopiltiz tomaceoaltiz, cujx nelli in, in tictemjquj, in ticcochitleoa in jaxcatzin, in jtlachioaltzin, in ioliliztli: in qujmomacaviliznequj in totecuj: ca oontlatlatlan in amjhijotzin, ca onovian anqujmonmahaxitilique, onovian anqujmonmonemjtilique: aoc tle oanconmocavitzinoque. Auh no ivi in tehoantin in tivevetque, in tilamatque otoconqujque, otoconanque in oc ceppa ic antonantzitzinoan, in antotatzitzinoan: ic oc ceppa, ic tamopilhoan titochioa: otlacox, otlacauhquj in amoiloltzin: a ca tocontocujlia, ca tocontomapiqujlia in oalqujz, in oalchiton in amonantioztzin, in amotaiotzin. A ca ie oanconmocujlique, oanconmanjlique y cententli, in cencamatl: injc njcan tontocentlalia, in jpaltzinco totecuj tonnechicavi tocnqujça: in jca in jtechpa in piltontli, in conetontli, in jchpuchtontli, in amocozquj, in amocuetzal, in amotzon, in amozti: auh yn jnvitzio, in

11. cf. Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

fatherhood. Verily, ye have taken, ye have grasped a word or two, wherefore we assemble here by the grace of our lord. We are gathered, we come together in behalf of, in regard to the baby, the girl, the maiden, your precious necklace, your precious feather, your hair, your fingernail, and the spine, the thorn of those who have gone, those whom our lord hath destroyed, whom he hath hidden, those who have gone on to remain beyond, your ancestors. And behold, verily, our lord wisheth to show mercy in giving a precious necklace, a precious feather. He wisheth to give it to your humble one. Our lord wisheth to place a life within the maiden. For this, he by whom we live hath assembled you here. And this ye have received, ye have heeded. And behold, this is that which we shall say, for certainly we still dream, we see in dreams that perhaps something will be the desert, the merit of the children who are here. Perhaps [our lord] will cause his creation to emerge on earth, for we exist, we live, we speak in darkness. Let us yet have faith in our lord as to how he will determine, for he still reigneth, for verily he still disposeth for us. Pay good heed, O our lords, O my sons. Find repose. May our lord rest you in peace."

The one with child, the one already pregnant, responded to the words which the old men had spoken. She said:

"My progenitors, my lords, precious persons, I have caused you to fall, to falter on the road; I have caused you torment. And ye know so much¹² of our lord, ye know his secrets. No little thing have I caused you to forget, for already here I have rejoiced exceedingly, have enjoyed pleasure, for I have taken your motherhood,¹³ your fatherhood, the incomparable in your breasts, the wonderful, the precious. Perhaps somewhere I shall reject them; perhaps somewhere there we shall reject them. For here, hearing them, is your humble one, N. Our lord hath bound us together; he hath made us one. Who will so remember it? Verily, ye have grasped [the news], ye have received it; for in truth ye have heard that our lord inclineth his heart to grant such as is a precious necklace, a precious feather. Ah, verily, our lord wisheth to concede [the child]. Ah, it is said I have ruined my pregnancy. And behold, in what manner is our lord determining for me? Perhaps something is my

jmaoio in oiaque in oqujnropolvi, in oqujnmotlatili totecuj, in ie nachca onmantivi in amotechiuhcaon: aviz nelle in qujnmocnomachitiznequj totecuj, in ce cozcatl in ce quetzalli in qujmomajliznequj in amoquauh, in amocelouh: in ioliliztli ijtic qujmaqujliznequj in totecuj ijchpuchtontli: ca iehoatl njcan ic amechalmotlalilia in jpalnemoanj. Auh injn ca oanqujmocujlique, ca oanqujmocaqujtique: aviz tlein ie toconjtozque, ca çan nelli mach in oc titemj-quj, ticochitleoa: aço itla imjilhvil, in maceoal muchi-oaz, in njcan oncate in pipiltotonti: aço qujmotlalticpacqujxtiliz in jtlachioaltzin, ca ioan in ticate in tinemj, in titlatoa: amanoçoc tictotemachilican in totecuj, quen qujmonequjltia, ca oc motequjtilia, ca oc nelli techmoiocolia. Tle anqujmomachitia totecuoane, nopilhoantzitzine: ma tlaltech ximaxitican, ma amechmotlamatcatlalili in totecuj.

Tlatoa in oitlacauh in ie otztli: qujncuepilia in jntlatol vevetque, in otlatoque: qujtoa.

Notechiuhcatzitzinoan, totecuj, tlaçotitlaca: ma namechnotlaxili, ma namechnotecujnili, ma namechnococolhvi: auh quexquichtzan anqujmomachitia, anqujmomachililia in totecuj: mac itla namechnolcaotili: a ca ie njcan onjnonocujltono, onjnotlachimachi: ca onconan in anemjuhquj in amoniotzin, in amotaiotzin, in cepoatoc, in cuelpachiuhtoc, in amoxillantzinco, in amotozcatlantzinco maviztic in tlaçotli: aço cana nocontlâtlaçaz, aço nipa tocontlâtlaçazque: ca iz concactica in amoquauh, in amocelouh in N. in otechnetechilpi, in otechcetili totecuj: ac iuh conmatizque A ca ie oanconmanjlique, oanconmocujlique: ca onelle anconmocaqujtique, ca tlacaoaznequj in jiollotzin in totecuj: anca cozcatl, anca quetzalli: a nelli qujmomacaviliznequj in totecuj, â mjtoa onjtlacappolo: aviz quen nechmonequjlilitica in totecuj, cujx itla nocnopil, nomaceoal, cujx tlalticpac qujçaqujuh, cujx qujmottitiliz in tla-nextli in totecuj, in quenami ic nechmapanjlia.

12. Read *quexquichtzin*.

13. Read *amonaiotzin*.

desert, my merit; perhaps the child will come to be born on earth; perhaps our lord will cause that with which I am adorned to see the light of day.

"And here is thy humble one. Our hands are together; we go holding hands. Perhaps he will see, perhaps he will know, perhaps he will behold the face of that which is his blood, his color, recognizable as his. Perhaps it will be his image. But on the other hand, the lord of the near, of the nigh, may laugh at us. Perhaps our lord will completely destroy the tender thing. Perhaps something will cause the baby, the tender thing to sicken. Perhaps something will cause it to be stillborn; our lord will leave us [still] desiring a child. Certainly we are weepers, we are sorrowers. Let us have faith in our lord; perhaps something is our desert, perhaps something is our merit. My progenitors, precious persons, my lords, find repose."

Auh can iz onca in amoquauh, in amocelouh, in tomatech tontantinemj: cujx qujttaz, cujx qujximatiz, cujx ijxco, icpac tlachiaz in jiezio, in jtlapallo, in jneiximachiliz, cujx mjxiptlatiz: auh ano ie tictotlavevetzqujtilia, in tloque, naoaque: cujx ixqujchtzin atzintli, conmopolviz in totecujó: cujx itla ic oncocolizcujz in piltzintli, in atzintli, cujx itla ic onolinjz, topilneccaio techonmaitiliz in totecujó: mach tichocanj, mach titlaocoianj: ma oc tictotemachilican in totecujó: acaço tle tolhvíl, acaço tle tomaceoal: notechiuhcaoan, tlaçotitlacatzitzinti, notecujiotzitzinoan: ma tlaltech ximaxitican.



Twenty-sixth Chapter. Here it is told how, when the pregnant one was already in the seventh or eighth month, the mothers, the fathers of the married couple assembled one's kinsmen; and they drank, they ate. And thereafter there was consultation as to some midwife to be sought out, to be supplicated to bathe their maiden in the sweat bath and to serve as midwife.

When that which was within the little woman was already enlarged, when it was time, when that within her was apparent, thereupon the old men, the old women assembled themselves for the second time. Food, drink were prepared. When there had been eating, when there had been drinking, then they summoned, they supplicated a midwife, the one who brought about birth, the one who delivered, the one in charge of birth. First, the parents spoke with one another; they greeted, they entreated one another. One of the old men, either of the youth's people or of the maiden's people, spoke. He said:

"Ye who are here present, ye who are mothers, ye who are fathers, verily, now, the child, the girl, the maiden, suffereth. For already it is thus. But behold, what hath our lord willed? Perhaps there is death. May ye help her; may ye show her to the sweat bath. May she come unto, may she come to know our mother, the grandmother of the baths, Yoalticitl, who adviseth one, who arrayeth one. In her hands we mature, we achieve our merit. May this verily be the time. Place her in the lap, on the shoulders of the wise one, the skilled one, the midwife. Entreat her with a word or two. May she take, may she know of your motherhood, your fatherhood, for here present are the parents, the possessors of these precious necklaces, the possessors of these precious feathers. Is there perhaps anyone else here after [ye] are here, when [ye] will be absent? Where else will they find you when our lord hath destroyed you?¹ But [as for] this, [our lord] yet awardeth you your deserts. Pay good heed."

Le cempoalli onchiquacen capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjn in jnnanoan, in jntaoan in monamjctique: in jquac ie chicome, anoço ie chicuei metztli qujcentlaliaia in teoaiulque: ioan atlija, tlaquaia: auh çatepan mononotzaia, injc ce aca motemoz, motlatlauhtiz ticitl, injc qujtemaz, ioan in qujmjxivitz in jmjchpuch.

In ie tomaoa in ijti in cioatzintli: in noço ovel macic, in ovel nez in ijti: ic oppa mocentlalia in vevetque, in jlamatque, mocencao in qualonj, in joanj. In otlaqualoc, in oatlioac: vncan qujnotza, vncan qujtlatlauhtia in ticitl in tetlacachivilianj, in temjxivitianj, in jmac tlacatioanj. Achtopa nepanotl monotza, motlapaloo, motlatlauhtia in pilhoaque: ce vevetlactl tlatoa, aço telpuchequc, anoço ichpuchequc: qujtoa.

Ca njcan anmonoltitoque in annanti, in antati: a nelle axcan motolinja in piltontli, in conetontli, in jchpuchtontli, ca ivin ie vnca, y, aviz tlein qujmonequiltia in totecujio: cujx a vncan câ mjqujztli, manoço xicmotlaoculilican, manoço qujmottiti in temazcaltzintli, manoço itech aci, ma qujmottiti in tonan in temazcaltecitzin, in ioalticitl: in teimati, in techichioa, in jmac titetzaoa timaceoalti. A manoço nelle axcan: ma icuexanco, ma iteputzco xicmotlallilican in amantecatli, in toltecatzintli, in ticitzintli: ma cententica, ma cencamatica, xicmotlatlauhtilican, ma qujcuj, ma qujximati, in amonaniotzin, in amotaiotzin: ca njcan monoltitoque in pilhoacatzitzinti, in cozqueque, in quetzaleque: cujx aocac tlacatl, ma qujn amonjcatzinco in quen polivizque: can nel oc amechonmanjlizque, in oamechmopolhvi totecujio: auh injn ca oc amechonmocnopilhvilia: tle anqujmomachitia.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "y no os a apartado dios dellos, despues de vña vida, y en vña ausencia, no teneys obligacion de mirar por ellos: y despues de vña muerte, despues que nuestro señor os aya lleuado, donde os gran a buscar?"

Then they seated the midwife; they entreated her. The old men, the old women seated themselves. One of the old women spoke. She said to the midwife:²

Niman qujoallalia in ticitl, qujtlatlauhtia: oalmo-
tlalia in vevetque, in jlamatque, ce ylamatlacatl in
tlatoa. qujlhvia in ticitl.

2. See Chap. 11, n. 6.



Twenty-seventh Chapter.¹ Here it is told how an old woman relative of the youth, or one of the [old women] relatives of the girl advised, entreated the midwife to receive the pregnant woman whom they had left in her charge; and how the midwife replied as she received the discourse. And then [are told] those various things which she said to the pregnant woman, in order that she should not much hurt the baby when it was born, in order that she should be quickly delivered. Much is mentioned which is memorable — very good discourses of the sort which women say; and very good are each of the metaphors.

"Here thou art seated; here our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath placed thee, precious person, our lady, noblewoman. And here are the old men, the old women, thy progenitors. For thou understandest, thou takest heed because the baby, the girl, the maiden, hath conceived — she who is married to thy commoner, N. Thy elders have seated her before thee. For verily our lord now wisheth to show the mercy in his heart; the lord of the earth wisheth to give a precious necklace, a precious feather; he hath wished to install a life — our lord hath wished to insert it within thy humble one, the child, the maiden, N., married to thy humble one, N. And with this thou art informed that he delivereth, he placeth her in thy hands, in thy lap, upon thy shoulders. Here are the old men, the old women, the parents, those with offspring.² And those who are the mothers, who are the fathers now deliver thee the child.

"Verily now, introduce her into the *xochicaltzin*³ of our lady, the place where the mother, the grandmother,⁴ the lady Yoalticiti fortifieth [the body of

le cempoalli onchicome capitulo, vncan mjttoa: in quenjn ce ylamatlacatl in telpucheque, anoço ceme in jchpucheque: qujnnotzaia, qujtlatlauhtiaia in ticitl, injc qujceliz in jtech qujcaoia in otztli: ioan in quenin tlananqujliaia in ticitl, injc qujcelia in tlatolli: auh njman ie ichoatl, in jzqujtlamantli qujlviaia in otztli: injc amo cenca qujtolinjz in piltontli in jquac tlatatiz, injc vel iciuhca mxxiviz: mjiēt in moteneoa in neiollotilonj, cenca qualli in tlatolli in juh tlatoa cioa, ioan cenca quāqualli in metaphoras.

Ca njcan tioalmovetzitia: njcan mjtzalmotlalilia in totecujo in tloque, naoaque, tlaçotitlacatzintli, totecujo, cioapilli: auh ca iz onmonoltitoque in vevetque, in jlamatque in motechiuhcaoan. A ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaqujtia: anca oitlacauh in piltontli, in conetontli, in ichpuchtontli: in jnmatech onmantinemj in momaceoal in N: a mxxpantzinco, qujmotlalilia in motechiuhcaoan: a ca nelle axcan, icnotlamatiznequj in jiollotzin totecujo: ce cozcatl, ce quetzalli qujmomacaviliznequj in talticpaque, ioliliztli qujmotlaliliznequj, ijtīc qujmocalaqujliznequj in totecujo: in ichoatl mocnotlacauh in piltontli, jchpuchtontli in N: in jnmatech onmantinemj in mocnotlacauh in N: auh ca ic ticmocaqujtia, momacztzinco, mocuexantzinco, moteputzttzinco concaoa, contlalia: a in jz onmonoltitoque in vevetque, in jlamatque, in pilhoaque. in tzoneque, in jzteque, auh ichoantin in nantin, in tati, mjtzmopilmaqujlia in axcan:

manoço nelle axcan, manoço itech xicmaxitili in ixuchicaltzin totecujo: in vncan motetetzavilia in nantli, in tecitzin, in tlatatl in ioalticiti: manoço

1. Of this and the next two chapters, a translation by Thelma D. Sullivan is to be found in *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, VI (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1966), pp. 63-96.

2. Lit.: "the ones having hair, having fingernails."

3. *xochicaltzin*: "flower house."

4. *tecitzin*: cf. *teci*, lit., one's grandmother (so appearing in the Spanish text, fols. 129v, 133r — "*la abuela*"); otherwise the term may appropriately be regarded as epithets applied to Yoalticiti.

the baby]. May she take to, may she encounter the sweatbath since, indeed, the droplet of a baby is already three [or] four months [formed]. How dost thou regard it? Let us not cause her to sicken; perhaps it is not [the time] to massage her.

"This is all that thou acceptest, that thou hearest, O precious person, our lady, noblewoman. But be not troubled in heart, in body; be not angered. Who [else] would entreat thee? Who [else] would draw forth a word or two — would lift a clear voice, would set forth, would say the well-spoken, well-ordered [words] which thou dost accept, which thou dost heed? The old men, the old women, those with offspring;⁵ the grandfathers, the grandmothers who, departing, released — who, departing, left — the maiden, the girl N., and this one, thy commoner, thy humble one, N., would not hide her, would not conceal her from thee.⁶

"In their absence are they perchance still informed? For our lord hath placed them in retreat; for they have departed, they have gone to reside in our eternal home, the place with no outlets, with no openings; for already they have gone to rest near, next to our mother, our father, Mictlan tecutli.

"O that it were still in their time! O that it were still in their presence! Ah, they would weep for, would feel anguish over that of which we dream, that which we see in dreams, the feast day, the marvel which is the life which our lord wisheth to insert within her, their offspring. And they would have entreated thee. But in their absence we perform in childish, in baby-like fashion. Stuttering, stammering are the word or two which we here deliver; ill-spoken, disordered is what we intone, what we set forth.

"With a word or two we here entreat thee. Show favor to the baby, the girl, the maiden. Perform thy task, thy duty, since thou art the skilled one, the artisan of our lord; since thou art empowered by him. This is all which thou dost grasp, which thou dost heed. Perform thy office; do thy work. Aid our lord; help him."

The midwife spoke, the one in charge of birth, the

qujcuj, manoço qujmottiti in temazcaltzintli: anca ça nel ie cuel ei, navi metztli in chipinpiltzintli: quen ticmottilia, ma ne tontlacocolizcujtiti, acacemo pacholonj.

O ca ixqujchtzin in, ticmocujlia, ticmocaqujtia tlaçotitlacatzintli totecujio cioapilli: auh ma quen ticmuchivili in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin: ma timotlatlavelchivili, aqujn mjtzmotlatlauhtiliz, aqujn cententli, cencamatl conqujxtiz in melaoac coneoaz, in vel ijtoloian, in vel itlaliloian contlaliz conjtoz: a in toconmocujlia, in toconmocaqujtia: ca amo mjtzmoneinaililia, amo mjtzmoneitlatililia in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tzoneque, in jzteque, in aoaiooaque, in vitziooaque, in coltin, in citi in contlazteoque, in concauhteoaque in jchpuchtontli, in cioapiltontli in N. auh ichoatl in amomaceoal, in amoquauh, in amocelouh in N:

cujx oc imonjca, inteputzco, oalmotlamachitia, ca oqujnmotoptemjli, ca oqujnmopetlalcalttemjli in totecujio: ca oiaque, ca omotecato in tochenan in apuchqujiaoiocan, in atlecallocan, ca ie qujcevitoque in jtloc, in jnaoac in tonan, in tota in mjctlan tecutli:

tla oc inmatian, tla oc imjxpan: â ichoantin qujchocazquja, qujteopoazquja in tictemjquj, in ticcochitleoa in jlviçolli, in tlamaviçolli in centetl ioliliztli ijtlic qujmaqujliznequj, in jntzon, in jmjzti in totecujio: auh â ichoantin, mjtzmotlatlauhtilizquja: auh injn imônjca, inteputzco pillotl, coneitl ticchioa: popolonj, tzatzacuj, njcan cententli, cencamatl toconqujxtia aijtoloian, aitalililoian toconeo, tocontlalia:

cententica, cencamatica, â njcan timjtzontotlatlauhtilia: manoço xicmocnelili in piltontli, in conetontli, in jchpuchtontli: â manoço xicmochivilia in motequjqujtzin, in monaoatiltzin, injc amjtoltecaoan, in amjamantecaoan totecujio, injc amjtlanaoatiloan. Ca jxqujch in ticmocujlia, ticmocaqujtia: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtli, ma xicmonânamiqjli in totecujio: ma xicmopalevili.

Tlatoa in ticitl: in jmac tlacatioanj, in jtltl qujvel-

5. Lit.: "the ones having hair, having nails, having thorns, having spines."

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "no ay otra persona mas habil, para hablaros con aquella corteza, y concierto de palabras, que señora mereceys: y si la oviera no la escondieran estos viejos, y viejas, padres, y madres de los casados, que aqui estan, que am brotado, y procedido de los abuelos, y antepasados señores, y progenitores, desta señora. N. y de su marido, vuestro siervo, y criado. N."

one who set the womb aright, the one who delivered. She said:

"Behold, ye who are here: our lord, the lord of the earth, hath seated you — ye who are old men, ye who are old women, ye who are possessors of precious necklaces, ye who are possessors of precious feathers, ye who have offspring;⁷ and ye who are here, ye who are seated here, ye who are our progenitors, who are already the old mothers, the old fathers whom our lord hath set up as gods, who already have become as Oxomoco, who already have become as Cipactonal: verily I grasp, I accept your spirit, your words, and your weeping, your compassion with which ye weep, ye feel compassion; with which ye are anguished for the sake of your precious necklace, your precious feather, the little woman who is perhaps your second child, perhaps your eldest, or perhaps your youngest.

"For verily now ye cry out, ye call to summon Ticitl, the mother of the gods, Tonan, Yoalticatl, who governeth — in whose hands, in whose charge is — the *xochicalli*, which on earth is called 'sweatbath.' Here Teci, Yoalticatl, provideth for one, adorneth one, fortifieth one. For in her hands, in her lap, upon her back ye have placed your precious necklace, your precious feather, as well as that wherewithsoever she is arrayed, that wherewithsoever our lord of the near, of the nigh, hath arrayed her, whatsoever he hath placed within her.

"And this is all that I say. Alas, it hath come to pass that I am an unfortunate old woman. How indeed can you have chosen me, who am imprudent; who in nothing have pleased our lord; who am indiscreet, unintelligent? For there are, there exist, there dwell the skilled ones of our lord, the wise ones. And behold, there are the trusted ones whom the master our lord hath stimulated, hath inspired, those who have his authority. And behold once again also they have made proxies, they have made deputies to replace them, [they are] his true servers. This is their affair, this is their task, which I grasp, which I heed.⁸

"But behold now in truth, why have ye addressed me? Perhaps it is by command of our lord of the

lalianj, temjxivitianj: qujtoa.

Ca iz anmonoltitoque: ca amechalmotlalilia in totecuj in tlalticpaque, in amehoantzitzin in anvetque, in amjlamatque: in ancozqueque, in anquetzaleque, in anvitziooaque, in amaoaiooaque, â in antzoneque, in amjzteque, in amjxquamuleque. Auh ca iz anmoietzticate, iz anmonoltitoque in antotechiuhcaosan in ie anveveinanti, in anveveitati, in oamechmoteulalili totecuj, in ie amoxomoconti, in ie ancipactonalti: ca noconana, ca noconcu in amjhijotzin, in amotlatoltzin: auh in amochoqujz, in amotlaocul, injc ica anchoca, antlaocia, injc ica anentlamati in amocozquj, in amoquetzal in cioatzintli, in at amotlacoioeoaauh, in at amotiacapan, in at noço amoxocoioauh.

A ca nelle axcan, anqujmonochilia, anqujmotzatzililia, anqujticinotza in teteu innan: in tonan in ioalticatl, in qujtqujtica, in jmac ca, in jpial in xochicalli, in tlalticpac mjtoa temazcalli: in vncan teimati, techichioa, tetetzaoa, in iehoatl in tecitzin, in ioalticatl: ca imac ca, icuexanco, icujtlapan, ancontlalia in amocozquj, in amoquetzal: auh iehoatl in quenamj ic mapantica, in quenamj ic qujmapanjilia in totecuj, in tloque, naoaque, in quenamj ijtlic qujmaqujlia.

Auh ca ixqujchtzin noconjtoa: omuchiuh, onotlaueiltic in njlama: quen vel nehoatl, in annechmo-mapilujlia, in auel ixtli, in auel nacaztli, in atle vel onchivililo in totecuj, in anjnozcalia, in anjtlacaquj: ca onovac, ca ieloac, ca tlaxquaootoc in jtultecaosan totecuj, in jxeque, in nacaceque: aviz in pialeque, in qujxox, in qujmipitz, in tlacatl in totecuj in vel itlanaoatilhoan: aviz in oc ceppa, no iehoantin qujnmovivitia, qujnmopatillotia, in vel itlatequjpanocaosan, in jnmachiz yn, in jntequjuh yn, in njcan njccuj, niccaquj.

Aviz nelle axcan quen oannechmjtalhviq: aço itencopatztinco in totecuj in tloque, naoaque, in tla-

7. Lit.: "ye who have spines, ye who have thorns, ye who have hair, ye who have fingernails, ye who have eyebrows." The corresponding Spanish reads: "que an nacido, y tenjdo principio de vuestras personas, como la espina del arbol, y como los cabellos de la cabeza, y como las vñas de los dedos, y como los pelos de las cejas de la carne, que esta sobre el ojo." For the metaphorical meaning of the terms, see Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," pp. 19-21. Cf. also Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "y ellas tienen discipulas enseñadas, que son como ellas, y imagines dellas, y estas saben, y estas saben [sic] este officio, y ellas lo exercitã: de lo qual me aveys aquí hablado."

near, of the nigh, the master, the night, the wind; perhaps at this time I am chastised, perhaps at this time I am annihilated; perhaps our lord hath become adverse; perhaps I have aroused repugnance.⁹

"But although it is said that I am a midwife, will I perchance by my hand produce, be successful with the precious necklace, the precious feather, in a manner we deem deserving — the precious necklace, the precious feather which our lord hath placed within her, your precious necklace, your precious feather? And although I am a skillful practitioner, will I perchance be diligent in the matter of the shield, the small shield of my daughter, of my youngest daughter, who is here seated, for whom ye suffer affliction? Perhaps our lord will show aversion. Though indeed I work — though indeed it be done, I seem not to succeed; perchance I will arrange [the child] crosswise, perchance I will extend it obliquely; or else I will break [the womb]. Alas, it hath come to pass that I am unfortunate.¹⁰ Perchance our lord bringeth about my death.

"But, my children, our lords, precious persons, my grandchildren, perhaps ye do not create a person when ye lament; perhaps it is by command of the lord of the earth. Now may the inspiration of our lord be complied with; may it be satisfied. And may you be answered. Let us attend to this; let us do our work with what our lord hath sent, with what he hath granted: that wherewithsoever he hath arrayed the woman, the dove, our little one. And what indeed shall we say? Shall we perchance say that the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath shown us mercy, that he yet wisheth to bless us? For we speak of that which is yet in the land of the dead, of that which is yet in the beginning.

"What shall we say? Let us yet have faith in him by whom all live; let us yet have faith in what is said, and also in what hath been determined above us, in the land of the dead, in the beginning. How hath it been determined for us? How hath it been told of us? How have we been apportioned? Shall in truth — shall the lord of the near, of the nigh, cause the sun to shine, bring the dawn? Shall we see the face, the head of whatsoever precious neck-

catl, in ioaalli in checatl: aço vncan nechmaqujlia, aço ie vncan nopoctlan naiauhatlan, aço omotlatziviti in totecujo: aço onjtlatlazivilti.

Auh maço mjtoa njticitl: cujx nomac njcchioaz, njqujmatiz in cozcattl in quetzalli, in quenamj toma-ceoaltiznequj in cozcattl, in quetzalli, in jitic qujma-qujlia totecujo, in amocoquj, in amoquetzal: auh maço namantecatl, cujx nehoatl itlan naqujz in jchimal, in jtevevel, in nochpuchtzin, in noxocoiuh, in njcan onmeviltitica: in jca anmonentlamachitia: aço itlatzivia qujmochiviliz in totecujo, tla nel njcte-qujpano. tla nel muchioa, anjcnjnecoaltoca, aço njtlaxtlapallaliz, aço njtlanacacitceaz: auh anoce njtlapitzinjz: omuchiuh, onotlaveltic, aço naqujan qujmuchiviliz in totecujo.

Auh injn nopilhoantzitzin totecujiooan, tlaçotitlaca, noxviuhztitzinoan: acaçomo anmotlacaicux-tzinoan, in anmotzatitica: aço ie itencopatzinco in tlatitpaque. In axcan ma popovi, ma ixtlavi in jhijotzin totecujo: auh ma cuepi in amotlatoltzin, ma itlan taqujcan, ma tictequjpanocan in jtlaoaltzin, y in jtlamacaoaltzin totecujo: in quenamj ic qujmapanjlia, â in cioatzintli, in cocotzin, in totepitzin: auh tlein ie cucl toconjtozque, cujx tiqujtozque in otechmocnelili in tloque, naoaque, ca çan oc tech-mocneliliznequj: ipampa ca oc mjctlan, ca oc ioaian in tontlatoca:

tlein ie toconjtozque, ma oc tictotemachilican in jpalnemoanj, ma oc ie tictemachican in tlein mjtoa: auh in noço tlein omjto, in topan in mjctlan, in ioa-ian, quen otitoloque, quen otitalhviloque: quen oticotonjliloque: cujx nelli, cujx tonaz, tlathuiz qujmuchiviliz in tloque, naoaque: cujx ijxco, ijcpac titlachiazque, in quenamj cozcattl, quetzalli qujmacaviliznequj totecujo: cujx noço çan ixqujchtzin onmopolivitiz, cujx atzintli conmopolhviz: cujx

9. Ibid.: "por uentura es por mj mal para que aqui acabe mj vida, por uentura ya tengo henhadado a nro señor y tengo hçhahados a los hõbres, y por esto me qujere acabar...."

10. Read onotlaueitlic.

lace, precious feather our lord wisheth to accord? Or will everything be made to perish? Will he destroy the droplet of a child? Or will perchance my daughter, the little one, the dove, be his companion?"¹¹

"I cause you headaches, stomach pains, my children, our lords. Let us aid our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. Let the water be heated, boiled, for the *xochicalli* of our lord. Let my daughter approach our eternal mother, Teci, Yoalticitl."

The mother [and] the old women answered the one who spoke. They said:

"Take up thy charge, precious person, godly mother, our progenitress. Aid Ciuapilli, Quilaztli, and cause the baby, the girl, to go to the *xochicalli* of our lord, the sweatbath, where is to be found, where guardeth the grandmother, the grandmother of the sweatbath, Yoalticitl."

And at once, of her own accord, the midwife fired, heated the sweatbath, and she put the maiden in the sweatbath, where she massaged the pregnant woman's abdomen; she placed aright [the unborn child]. She placed it straight; she kept turning it as she massaged her, as she went on manipulating her. But if the midwife was a little sick, some one of her representatives fired the sweatbath, to heat it. And when the pregnant woman came forth from the sweatbath, at that time she massaged her. Many times the midwife massaged the abdomen of the pregnant woman. Sometimes it was even outside the sweatbath, nor was the pregnant woman bathed in the sweatbath. It was said she just massaged her raw.¹²

And sometimes in the sweatbath the midwife commanded that they should not strike the pregnant woman much upon her back,¹³ and that she be not heated much. For the midwife said that thereby the baby would roast; he would become stuck there. Nor were they to strike nor much heat the abdomen of the pregnant woman, for the baby would suffer from the heat, would swell from the heat. Likewise the midwife commanded that the pregnant woman

noço itevical iez in nochpuchtzin, in tepitzin, in coco-tzin:

amotzontecontzin, amelchiqujuhtzin njqueoa nopilhoantzitzin, totecujao: ma tictonanamjquj-lican in totecujao, in tloque, naoaque: manoço, onjcu-ci, ma ompoçonj in jxuchalcaltzin totecujao: ma itech onaci in nochpuchtzin, in tocennan in tecitzin, in ioalticitl.

Tlananqujlia in pilhoaque cioa, ilamatque in tla-toa: qujtoa.

Ma ximotequjtili tlaçotitlacatzintli, teunantli, tote-chiuhcauh: ma xicmonanamjqujli in cioapilli in qujlaztli: auh ma itech xicmaxitli in piltontli, in conetontli, in jxuchalcaltzin totecujao, in temazcaltzin-tli: in vncan monoltitoc, in vncan motlapialia in tecitzin, in temazcaltecitzin in ioalticitl.

Auh vel njman jc inoma qujtlatia, qujtotonja in ticitl, in temazcalli: auh qujcalaquja in temazcalco in jchpuchtli vncan qujpachoa in ijti in otztli, vncan qujuellalilia, qujtlamelauhcatalilia, qujcucuepa in qujpachoa, qujmjmjlotionemj. Auh intla achi moco-coa ticitl, çan aca ixiptla in qujtlatia temazcalli, in qujtotonja: auh in jquac oalqujz temazcalco in otztli, iquac qujpachoa: mjiecpa in qujpachilvia in ticitl in jititzin otzintli: quenman çan iuh ca, amo temazcalco, amo no motema in otztli, mjtoa: çan qujxoxouhcapachoa.

Auh in quenman temazcalco, tlanaoatia in ticitl: in amo cenca qujvitequjzque in jcujtlapan in otztli: amo no cenca totonjaz, ca qujtoa in ticitl: ca ic ixquj-viz in piltontli, vmpa tlaçâlöz: amo no qujvitequjz-que, amo no cenca totonjaz in ijti in otztli: ca tle-mjqujz, ca tletemjz in piltontli. No ioan tlanaoatia in ticitl: amo cenca mototonjz in otztli, amo no mocujtlapantotonjz aço tonaltica, anoço tletica, ca no ixqujviz in jconeuh: ioan tlanaoatia, vel qujnaoatia

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "o si por uentura tamañito como esta perezera, si qujça en su ternura perezera: o por uentura yra con el mj hija regulada y muy amada que lo tiene en su viçtre."

12. Ibid.: "despues de sacada del baño, la palpaua la barriga: y esto hazia muchas vezes, aun fuera del baño, y este se llamaua palpar a secas..."

13. Ibid.: "y porque es costumbre, que los que se bañan los hyeran las espaldas, con ojas de mahiz cozidas, en la mjima agua del baño: esto mandaua algunas vezes la partera, que no se hiziese..."

should not become very hot, and her back should not be heated, either in the sun or at the fire, for her child would also roast. And the midwife commanded, sternly commanded, the pregnant woman not to sleep by day, for the child when born would be of abnormally large eyelids.

Many were the commands that the midwife left to protect the pregnant woman, to provide her a particular mode of life all the time she was pregnant. She said the pregnant woman should not chew chicle, for when the baby was born, its lips would be no more than perforated; it would no more than nibble, since, it was said, its lips would be perforated, its lips would thicken. Since it could no longer suckle, it would die.¹⁴ She said it was necessary that she should look at nothing which angered one, which frightened one, which offended one, for she would bring the same upon [the child].

And what the pregnant woman desired should quickly be given; it should not be delayed; for her child would suffer if what she desired were not quickly given. And she said, she commanded that she should not look upon anything red, for the child would be [extended] crosswise when it was to be born. And the midwife said that the pregnant woman should not fast, for it would cause the baby to starve. And she said the pregnant woman should not eat earth nor eat chalk, for the baby would not be born healthy; it would be restless; perhaps it would be sickly or perhaps not sound. For what the mother drank, what she ate, that also the baby absorbed; it took [substance] from her.

And the midwife commanded the pregnant woman that before the baby had attained form, after one, two, [or] three months, her husband should still at times be accepted, so that the child should attain form. If not, it would just be sickly; it would be infirm when it came forth on earth.

And the midwife and the mothers commanded that when what was within the pregnant woman was well formed, when it was already sound, when it was already great, no longer should she at any time take her pleasure with her husband, no longer should she give herself to worldliness, because the baby would not be born aright; it would come forth mingled with filth; as if bathed in a white *atole*. Thus it would be apparent that they had never ceased,

in otztli in ticitl: amo cochiz in tlaca, ca ixquatol-mjmjlpul iez in tlatatiz piltontli:

mjiēc in qujcaoa itenaotil ticitl, in qujpia, in qujmonemjiztia otztli: in jxqujch cavitl otztitica: qujtoa, amo tzicquaquaz in otztli, ca in jquac tlatatiz piltontli: ȝan mach motentzotzopotzaz, ȝan mach tlaquaquaz: ic mjtoa motentzoponjz, totomaoaz in jtenxipal, ic aioc vel chichiz, ic mjqujz, qujtoa: ca monequj amo qujtaz in tlein tequalanj, in tlein temamauhti, in tlein teiolitlaco: ca iuhquj qujchioaz.

Auh in tlein qujnequj otztli, iciuhca macoz, amo vecaoaz: ca ommotolinjz in jconeuh, intlacamo iciuhca maco, in tlein qujnequj. Ioan qujtoa, tlananaotia: amo qujtaz in tlapalli, ca ixtlapal in tlatatiz piltontli. Ioan qujtoa in ticitl amo tlaqualcaoaz in otztli cacapizmjtiz in piltontli: ioan qujtoa amo tlatquaz, amo no tiȝaquaz in otztli: ca amo qualli in tlatatiz piltontli. amo cemelle, at cocoxquj, at noȝo amo tlamelaoac: ca in tlein quj, in tlein qujqua nantli: no ichoatl qujmonacaiotia in piltzintli, ca itechpa cana.

Ioan qujnaoatia in ticitl in otztli: in aiamo onmaci piltzintli, in qujn ce, in qujn vme, in qujn ei metztli, ȝa oc quenman moquazque in jnamjc, injc onmaci piltzintli, intlacamo, ca ȝan cocoxquj, amo tevivi in tlatitpac qujȝaz.

Ioan qujnaoatia in otztli in ticitl, ioan in tenanoan: in omacic in ie qualli, in ie tomaoa in ijtic otztli: aocmo quenman mahavillacanequjz in oqujchtli, aocmo tlatitpac tlamatiz: ipampa amo iectli in tlatatiz piltzintli, oallaelneliuhthiaz, iuhqujn iolatolli ic oalmaltitiaz: ic neciz ca aic omocauhque, ca omuchipa moquâtinēque in jxqujchcauh ootztitlatca: iuhqujn achi pinaviztli, vncan ca: auh in ie itlacachi-oalizpan otztli, cenca qujhijotiz in jtlacachioaliz:

14. Ibid.: "y que no se hiziesse el paladar duro, y las encias gruesas, porque no podria mamar, y si [sic] muriria. . ."

that always they had lived in carnal desire all the time that she was with child. It was something rather shameful at this time. And when it was the time of the delivery of the pregnant woman, much would she suffer in her child-bearing, and for a very long time she would feel [discomfort] in her womb — perhaps two days, three days. And at the very time for her to bear her child, much would she cry out; perhaps for two days it would cause her to suffer: because something like pine resin would form when, at an improper time, she accepted, she received seed.¹⁵

As the birth was to take place, the midwife was to separate it with care. If perhaps she proceeded not with gentle movements when she proceeded to take it in her hands, she might also harm the baby when it was to be removed as it was delivered. Some babies died thus within their mothers, because they adhered [to them] somewhere, or else were extended crosswise. And also many times she who was delivered of a child died of it. It was said that it adhered to her back, that is, in her uterus, as it extended into her womb. Thus it could in no way be born; the baby could not come forth on earth. There it died. Also the mother thus died. It was said she died in childbed because the baby no longer tolerated the seed; it was as if it turned into matter which glued [the baby] to the sound body of the woman.

Here also let something rather marvelous be told. When the baby adhered there within his mother, if the baby had died, the midwife inserted an obsidian knife within the woman. There she dismembered the baby; she drew it forth piece by piece. Thus the parent was yet relieved.

The midwife commanded that the pregnant woman not weep, not be saddened, not be troubled: for the baby would suffer because of it. The midwife commanded that she eat very well, that she drink well; that she eat what was good, warm, soft, especially at the time when, as was said, "the feet of the baby are washed" — when blood flowed from the mother — so that the baby not be formed like a pottery rattle, so that it not result as a gourd rattle, so that it not sicken.¹⁶

auh cenca vecauhtica in qujmatiz ijti, aço omjlvitl, cilvitl: ioan in ie vel iquac tlacachioaz vel tzatziz, aço omjlvitl in qujhijotiz: ipampa iuhqujn ocotzotl muchioaz in aiocmo imonecian in oqujcujc, in oqujceli xinachtli:

injc tlacachioaz, vel qujxixitinjz in ticitl, in aço aqujqujvivixotinemjz, in qujnapalotinemjz: auh no qujcôcoltiz in piltzintli, injc ipan mopoztectinemjz, in mjxiuj: ic cequjntin imjtíc mjquj in jnnanoan pipiltzitzinti, ipampa cana tlaçalaoa, anoço moxtlapalteca: auh no mjiecpa ic mjquj in mjxivi, mjtoa, vmpa tlaçalaoa in jcujtlapan, qujtoznequj, in jcioaioc, injc melaoatica in jconexiqujpilco: ic njman avellacati, auellalticpacqujça in piltzintli vmpa mjquj: no ic mjquj in tenantzin, in mjtoa: mocioaquetza: ipampa in aocmo qujmonacaiotia xinachtli piltzintli: iuhqujn tzotzoviztli mocuepa, itech qujçalaoa in jiec-nacao in cioatzintli.

Tla ça no njcan mjto, in mavizticatontli: in vmpa tlaçalaoa ijtic inantzin piltontli: intla omjc piltontli, itztli qujçalaquja in ijtic cioatzintli in ticitl: vmpa contetequj in piltontli qujoalqujqujxtia: ic oc palevilo in pilhoa.

Tlanaoatia in ticitl: amo chocaz, amo tlaocoltiloz, amo tequjpacholoz in otztli: ca ic cocolizcujz in piltzintli. Tlanaoatia in ticitl: cenca vellaquaz, vel atliz, muchi qualli in qujquaz, totonquj, iamanquj: oc cenca iquac in mjtoa mocxipaca piltontli, in ezqujça tenantzin: injc amo cacalactimotlaliz in piltzintli, injc amo aiooaaqujz, injc amo cocolizcujz.

15. Ibid.: "porque aquella viscosidad, es pegajosa, y no dexa salir la criatura libremente, y esto porque rescibio la simiente del varon, quando no convenia..."

16. Ibid.: "mayormente quando la preñada, le viene su purgacion, o como dicen su regla: y esto llaman que la criatura se lava los pies, porque no se halle la criatura en bacio, o aya alguna vacuidad, o falta de sangre, o humor necessario, y así resciba algun daño."

The midwife commanded the pregnant woman not to try to work, not to exert effort, not to lift heavy things, not to run; nor to take fright of, to be startled by anything; for then it was said that the mother would abort; it was said that the baby would miscarry. Here, in brief, have been stated all her commands to the pregnant woman.

The midwife said: "O my children, precious persons, our ladies, ye who are here: are you perchance babies? Are you perchance children? For we are the old women who consult among ourselves; you are seeing all of the mortality among us women in our wombs. Doth perchance the girl, the maiden, already know of this? Ye must take care of the girl; show special concern for her; let her yet be [the object of] your watchfulness; let her yet become [the object of] your care. We can have gone incurring something, we can have attained something [evil] for her at the time of the birth of the baby.

"Here am I, I who am called a midwife. Verily also for this reason am I a midwife. Do I perchance guard a cure for death? Shall I perchance withhold it from one if we should go to help one? Is it a cure for death which is in my hand, which I go carrying with me?" For our lord can only be helped, can only be aided [by what we do]. But what we do is only [like] fanning flies away. Can we perchance say: 'Let it come to pass this way'; 'Let the baby be born in good condition'? Shall we perchance be vain about it? And shall we claim for ourselves the mercy of the lord of the near, of the nigh, because of the manner in which we have gone to help?

"Verily, let all of us now show our devotion; let us yet have faith in our lord, in whatsoever he is determining. Will we perchance merit, will we deserve something? Is there also perchance nothing? Are only weeping, only tears now required? This is what you know, my ladies, my grandchildren, precious persons."

Tlanaoatia in ticitl, in otztli: amo mopôpoxcanê-nequjz, amo itlan aqujz, amo cacocujz in etic, amo motlatlalo, amo no ac qujmauhtiz, aiaç qujçaviz: ca njman mjtoa, motlatlaxiliz in nantli, mjtoa, olinjz in piltontli: çan cucl ixqujchton in, njcan onmote-neoa, in jnaoatil otztli:

conjtoa in ticitl. O nopilhoantzitzin, tlaçotitlacatzitzinti, totecujao: can iz amonmonoltitoque, cujx anpipiltzitzinti, cujx ancoconetzitzinti, ca tilamatque in tontonotza, ca anqujmotztititicate in jxqujch tomjcca ticioatzitzinti, in jpan tititzin: cujx ie quj-mati in piltontli in jchpuchtontli: ma anconmoxic-caviliti in piltontli, ma oc cenca tle anqujmomachitia, ma oc amjx amotequjtzin, ma oc amonecujtlaviltzin, onmuchioa: ica vel in oitla ticnamjqujto, in oitla topantic in jtlacachioalizpan piltontli:

â iz njca in mjtoa njticitl: ça nel no ic njticitl, cujx mjqujzpatli njcpia, cujx njctecujcujliz, in oitla ipan tehoato o? cujx mjqujzpatli nomac ca, njquj-qujtinemj: ca çan nanamjco, ca çan palevilo in totecujao: auh ca çan tlaeapeviliztli ticchioa, cujx toconjtozque: ma iuh onmuchioa in, ma vellacati in piltontli, cujx tocontotenjtalhvizque: auh tocontocujlizque in jtetlaocoliliztzin tloque, naoaque: anca quenamj ipan teoativi.

Ma oc nelle axcan timuchintin, titlateumatican, ma oc tictotemachilican in totecujao: quecin qujmonene-qujltitica, cujx itla tocnopil, tomaceoal, cujx no ie in atle: çan choqujztli, çan ixaiotl monequj in axcan: tle anqujmomachititzino, totecujao, noxviuhtiztinoan, tlaçotitlacatzitzinti.

17. Ibid.: "tengo yo algun remedio, o alguna medicina, por umentura para vujarlo [sic]? podrá por umentura hacer algo, para remediarlo? tengo por umentura poder absoluto, para librar de la muerte?" For vujarlo, evitarlo is read (cf. Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, p. 177), although obviarlo might be equally suitable.



Twenty-eighth Chapter. Here are told the different things which the midwife did when the pregnant one was ready, when she was about to give birth, in order that she would not suffer; and the different kinds of medicine she gave her when she could not give birth. Many [things] are mentioned which gladden one.

When the time of childbirth had arrived for the woman, then they summoned the midwife, the one who delivered, the one in charge of childbirth. And midwives remained with the sons, the young maidens of the rulers, the noblemen, the rich, the successful, perhaps yet four [or] five days before they were to give birth. They guarded them, they watched them periodically. And when she was to become aware of the labor pains, they say — it is said — they were to prepare food for her. And when the woman already felt labor pains, in order that she would quickly give birth, they quickly bathed her in the sweat bath;¹ then they had her drink an [infusion of the root of an] herb named *ciuapatli*,² an expellent, an ejectant. If the woman suffered much labor pain, they gave her as much as two fingers of opossum tail [ground up, in water],³ to drink, which would probably carry all with it. Thereby she quickly gave birth. This is much superior, for it is an expellent, an extractor, an ejectant.

Once a dog secretly ate an entire opossum. Such is the quality of the opossum that this dog came rejecting everything; it came casting everything out, defecating all its intestines. Likewise if one drank all the tail of an opossum, he would cast out all his intestines; he would defecate everything. Because of this, if the woman drank the *ciuapatli* and the opossum [tail infusion, and] if her labor pains responded not, the midwife and the old women considered it

ic cempoalli onchicuei capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in jzqujtlamantli qujchioaia in ticitl, in jquac ije iman in ie tlacachioaz in otztli: injc atle ic motolinjz, ioan in izqujtlamantli patli qujmacaia, in jquac avel tlacachioaia: mjiec in moteneoa in tepaqujlti.

In oacitl itlacachioalizpan cioatzintli: njman qujnotza in ticitl in temjxivitianj, in jmac tlacatioanj. Auh in tlatoque, in pipilti, in mocujltonoque, ioan in toveliecaoan in pilhoan in jmjchpuchoan: açoc iuh navilvitl macujlilvitl tlacachioazque in jntlan motla-lia titici, qujnpixtoque, qujnchixtoque in quenman: auh in jqujn qujmatizque in ijti, qujlmach mjtoa: qujtlataqualizchiuhtoque. Auh in ie qujmati in ijti cioatzintli: injc vel iciuhca tlacachioaz, oc contentiuetzi: njman conjtia in xivitl, in jtoca cioapatli in tlacxotlanj, in tlatopeoanj: intla cenca qujhijotia in cioatzintli ijti: quen omjxtli conjtia in tlaquatl icujtlapil, in ça iequene concenvica, iciuhca ic tlacachioa. Injn ca çan njman atlamati, ca vel tlacxotlanj, tlaqujxtianj, tlatopeoanj.

Ceppa chichi qujchtacaqua; vel centetl in tlaquatl: injc cenca ihijo in tlaquatl, muchi motepeoaco, muchi motoxaoaco, muchi qujxix in jcujt laxcol, injn chichi: no iuhqui intla aca, vel ce conj in jcujt lapil tlaquatl: ca muchi oalmotoxaoaz in jcujt laxcol, ca muchi qujxixaz. Ic ipampa in cioatzintli: intla oqujc cioapatli, in joan tlaquatl: intlacamo qujtlacamati in ijti: cenca tlaovicamati in ticitl, ioan in jlamatque, chocoa, tlaocoialo: qujtoa in ticitl.

1. *contentiuetzi* (der. from *tema*) may be taken as implying a sweat bath. The corresponding Spanish text, however, is "luego dauā en baño."

2. *ciuapatli*: *Montanoa tomentosa* Cervant (Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," p. 155).

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "dauanla a beuer, tanto como medio dedo de la cola del animal, que se llama tlaquatzin, molida. . ."

very dangerous. There was weeping, there was sadness. The midwife said:

"My beloved children, what doth our lord will? What is to befall us? Let us await the word of the lord of the near, of the nigh, for nothing aideth us."

Then the midwife began. She suspended the woman [by the head];⁴ she proceeded to shake her, to kick her in the back; she said to her: "My beloved daughter, exert thyself! How shall we deal with thee? Here are thy mothers. It is thine own affair. Seize well the little shield. My daughter, my youngest one, be thou a brave woman; face it—that is, bear down; imitate the brave woman Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli."⁵

And if already in one day, one night the woman could not give birth, then once again they quickly placed her in the sweatbath; once again they worked there in vain. The midwife straightened out that which was within the woman. And if she was despaired of, if she could in no wise give birth to the baby, then they enclosed the woman. Only the midwife was by her, because she was offering prayers. She called upon, prayed to Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli; then she cried out to Yoalticatl. Who knows the ones to whom she cried out?⁶

And the midwife who was prudent, who was skilled, if she saw that the baby had died, if it moved no more—and if the woman still lay gasping—then put her hand into the genitals of the woman. She inserted an obsidian knife; she dismembered the baby; she removed the body of the baby piece by piece. Etc.

Nopilhoantzitzin, tlein qujmonequiltia totecujō, tlein topan tiz: ma tictotlatolchialican in tloque, naoaque: ca atle techmomacujlilia.

Niman peoa in ticitl, caacopilōa in cioatzintli, qujvivixotinemj, qujcujtlapanicçatinemj: qujlvitinemj. Nochpuchtzin, ca moiaouh, quen timjtztovichilizque: â iz onoque in monantzitzinoan, ca moneixcaviltzin, vel xicmana in tevevelli: nochpuchtzin, noxocoioh: ca tiquauhçioatl, xicnamjquj, qujtoznequj: ximotilinj, xicmotlahecalvili in quauhçioatl, in cioacoatl, in qujlaztli.

Auh intla ie cemjlvitl, ie ceiooal, in avellacachioa in cioatzintli: njman oc ceppa qujcalaqujtuetzi, in temazcalco: oc ceppa vmpa oc nen muchioa qujvelalilia in ijti in cioatzintli, in ichoatl ticitl. Auh intla onexiuhlatilloc, in çan njman avellacati in piltzintli: njman qujtzaqua in cioatzintli, ça icel in jtlan ca ticitl: tlein mach ic tlatlatlauhtitica, qujnotza qujtlatlauhtia in cioacoatl in qujlaztli: njman qujtzatzilia in ioalticatl, ac machique in qujntzatzilia.

Auh in iolizmatquj tultecatl, amantecatl, in ticitl: intla oqujttac omjc piltzintli, intlacaiocmo molinja: auh intla oc ie ihijotoc cioatzintli. Niman onmaiavi in ijxpampa in cioatzintli, itztli qujcalaquja: vnpa qujtetequj in piltontli, qujoalqujqujxtia in jnaçio piltzintli. Et.*

4. Ibid.: "levantaua en alto a la preñada, tomándola con ábas manos por la cabeça..."

5. Quilaztli: discussions of Quilaztli as a manifestation of Ciuacoatl as a warrior and collaborator of the sun are to be found in Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 138, and *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 115.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "y también llamaua, a otras no se que diosas."

ILLUSTRATIONS



los huesos que se nos padece,
 de flaqueza, y necesidad de
 mantenimientos, y esto por la
 bondad de nuestro señor, y por
 nuestros peccados: y mira a tus
^{primas} hermanas menores, y a tus
^{primas} hermanas, mira si tienen a
 bundancia, mira si estan gordos
 y ricos, y si tienen las cosas
 necesarias, y si les sobran los
 mantenimientos, y las vesti-
 duras: nolo vees, quales an-
 dan en summa pobreza todos
 q̄han llenos de cumplida mi-
 seria: en tal estado en tanta
 pobreza, no ay oportunidad
 de levantar la cabeza, ni de te-
 ner brio, porque esto seria cosa
 de borrachos, y en gente muy
 vil: tenet presumption, o al-
 tuez en tanta pobreza, y mis-
 ria, como ay dentro desta casa,
 y como la tienen los que en ella
 moran es ocasion de humildad,
 y de tristeza y de traer la cabeza
 baxa, porque en tal tiempo as-
 nacido. Y para que te lo diga

tlaxtechtitla tlaquidac̄nhe
 m̄. 40m̄jcauh̄tinēm̄i in̄spal
 trinc̄ t̄oreap̄s̄ h̄oque, n̄aoc̄
 que: aah̄ in̄m̄ot̄er̄eac̄oan̄, in̄
 mov̄elt̄ioan̄ xi q̄uim̄on̄j̄tla, cūix
 on̄oac̄, cūix̄ ieloac̄, cūix̄ ix̄to
 natoque in̄spaltrinc̄ h̄oque,
 n̄aoque cūix̄ h̄at̄gūyatoc̄,
 cūix̄ net̄imalolotoc̄: h̄at̄iqūi
 m̄j̄tla in̄je mon̄em̄j̄tla, cati
 malivi in̄h̄altic̄pac̄, caih̄ij̄ovilo,
 cat̄laciaca: quen̄in̄ x̄ioalmo
 t̄ont̄econ̄at̄ac̄ūj̄ o, quen̄in̄ xa
 quetzac̄, amōcā h̄laoc̄an̄ic̄h̄
 caci, amōteqūj̄ x̄olop̄ic̄aiōtl̄ o,
 in̄juh̄can̄ t̄jol y, in̄juh̄can̄ te
 h̄acat̄, y, aub̄ in̄juh̄can̄ mo
 calit̄ic̄ y, aah̄ in̄juh̄que yn̄,
 mon̄caoc̄an̄, meh̄caoc̄an̄, in̄h̄a
 quec̄in̄ x̄imoch̄ioa: aah̄ quen̄
 h̄it̄it̄ilol̄os, quen̄ h̄at̄im̄opi
 193, in̄juh̄can̄ tim̄oiol̄iti y.
 Aah̄ oc̄t̄ica, m̄uchī in̄j̄apan̄
 m̄ic̄t̄alia, m̄uchī in̄j̄m̄it̄it̄ia.

beuas, haz que primero
coma, y beua dello, qui
ente loda. Se aujsa
do, myra por ti, en este
mundo, yas oydo lo q
te he dho: guarda, en to
das las cosas, el medio.



¶ Capitulo. 23. dela
manera, que hazian los
casamientos: estos natu
rales.

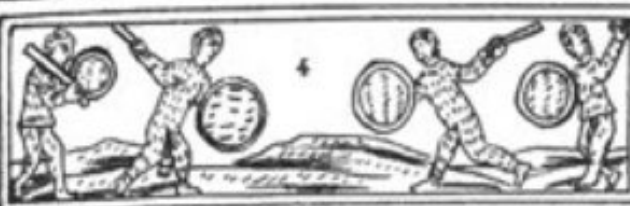


A quise trata, dela
manera que se hazian,
los casamientos en estas
partes: los padres de algun

acacerle gustaquia yntotecujo,
iecuele caixxeventon, ca mia
mnlchpil, quequetzopil, izatec
pil, iacacujlapilopil, quechvi
vichpil: ca pipilcac injnacac
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inqualonij, injoanij: intha itech
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lein mizmaca: tleticmati xan
mijnattinemy inthalticpac,
caoticcac: incanplanepantla
caion moneguj.

¶ Inje cempoalli vmei capi
tulo, vncan mjtota: inlein
quichioaia in njcan tlaca, inj
quac iequinnamjettzgle injn
pilhoan

¶ Nican moteneoa, inje cio
atlanja in njcan tlacat. Inie
hoatl interan, in teta: in ie
guitta injn telpuch ieomacic



— After Paso y Troncoso

1. The prayer to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter 1). 2. Those who sleep destitute (Chapter 2). 3. The prayer to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter 2). 4. Warriors who honor Tezcatlipoca (Chapter 3). 5. Prayer to Tezcatlipoca for the new ruler (Chapter 4). 6, 7. The penitent (Chapter 7). 8. The precipice and the torrent (Chapter 7). 9. Women before Tlaçolteotl (Chapter 7). 10, 11. The prayer to Tlaloc (Chapter 8).



— *After Paso y Troncoso*

12. The new ruler gives thanks to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter 9). 13. The ruler with the cleansing water (Chapter 9). 14. The orator replies to the ruler (Chapter 12). 15. The ruler exhorts the people (Chapter 14). 16. A nobleman exhorts the people in the presence of the ruler (Chapter 15). 17. The ruler exhorts the youth (Chapter 17). 18. The ruler exhorts the maiden (Chapter 18). 19. The mother exhorts the maiden (Chapter 19). 20. The father exhorts his son (Chapter 20). 21. The arranging of the marriage (Chapter 23). 22. Advising the pregnant bride (Chapter 24).



23.



24.



25.



26.



27.



28.



29.



30.



31.



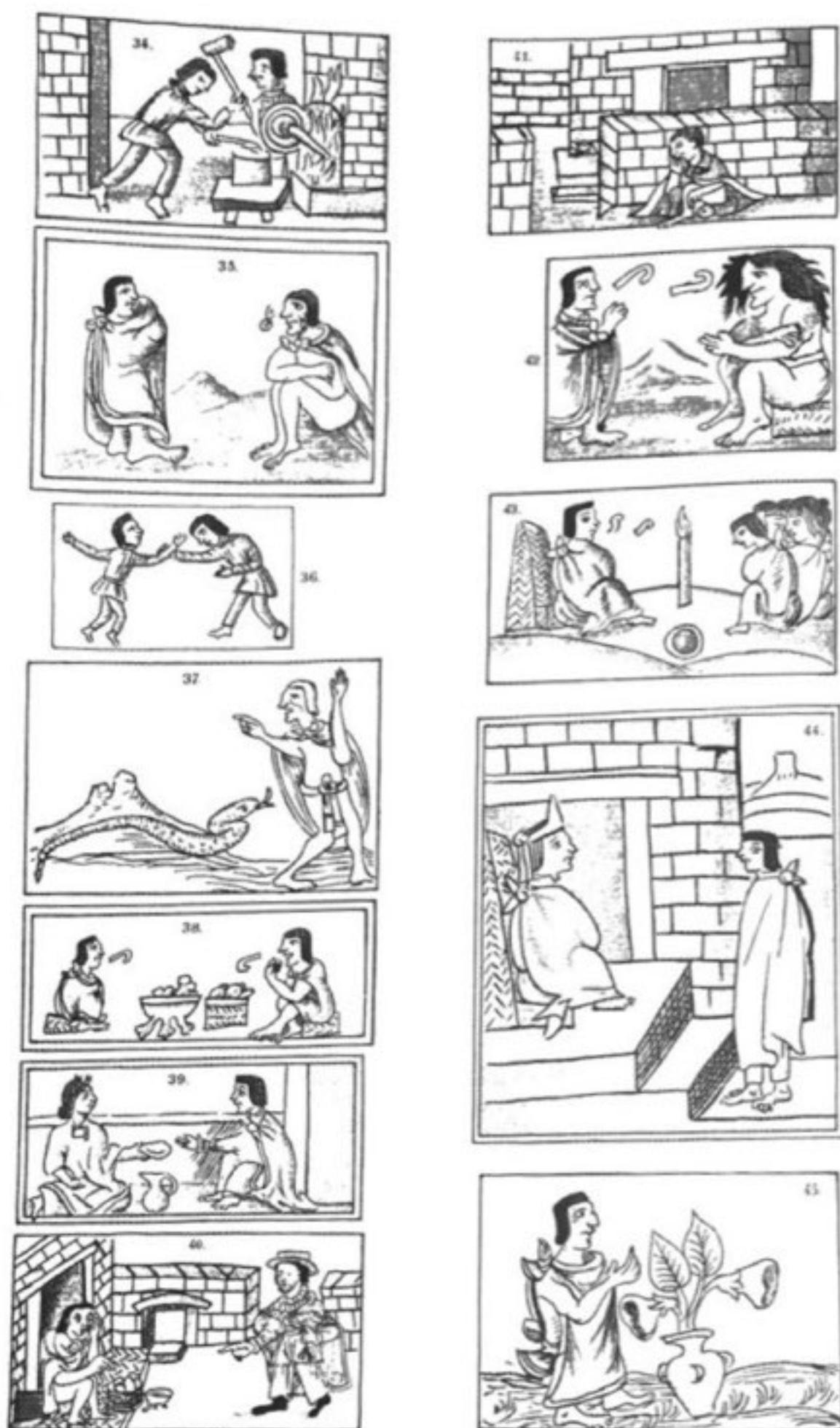
32.



33.

— After Paso y Troncoso

23. The pregnant one responds to the orators (Chapter 25). 24, 25. The midwife massages the pregnant one (Chapter 27). 26. The enclosing of the woman who dies in childbirth (Chapter 29). 27. The midwife addresses the baby (Chapter 30). 28. The parents of the child consult the soothsayer (Chapter 36). 29. The bathing of the boy (Chapter 37). 30. The symbols of womanhood (Chapter 37). 31. The placing of the baby in the cradle (Chapter 38). 32. A fool (Chapter 41). 33. He can achieve 400 (Chapter 41).



— After Paso y Troncoso

34. It is really my arrow (Chapter 41). 35. He is poor and needy on earth (Chapter 41). 36. My task is to guard turkeys (Chapter 41). 37. I have yet a day (Chapter 41). 38. Thanks to another I scavenge (Chapter 41). 39. A face of glory (Chapter 41). 40. Living is not with the poor (Chapter 41). 41. Already in another's enclosure (Chapter 43). 42. Disheveled (Chapter 43). 43. The torch, the wide mirror (Chapter 43). 44. Drivel, slaver (Chapter 43). 45. Thou goest panting (Chapter 43).



7 Quere dezir esta letra. Amj
 sinje stra y debaxo demij subacco.
 te pondre. Porme thaphora qui
 ere dezir. Seras el mas allega
 do amy de todos seras otro yo.
 esto dezia el señor a algun pilli
 otecuti se yme fiel que yo te haze
 mi següdo. Tambien la otra gête
 dezia. alque vian que era mas
 allegado al señor y era como su
 ynterprete daua las respuestas
 de lo que el queria que se hiziesse,
 aeste dezian: i. te ^{no} te debaxo de
 subraço izquierdo, y en la bacco
 nuestro señor onue stro rey.



— After Paso y Troncoso

46. Thou hast made thyself into a rabbit (Chapter 43). 47. Peaceful rule, peaceful governing (Chapter 43). 48. Heart, blood (Chapter 43). 49. The current has carried away the rock (Chapter 43). 50. The twigs, the straw beds (Chapter 43). 51. To my left, in my obsidian sandals, including Spanish text and ornamental design (Chapter 43, fol. 214v). 52. The heavens open (Chapter 43).



Twenty-ninth Chapter. Here it is told how they made goddesses of those women who died in childbirth, called *mociuaquetzque*. They believed in them as they did in the *ciuateteo*. And they took from them their hair or some part of their bodies; they believed in these as relics. And they took [these relics] from them first before they buried them. And it is necessary that the priests should make known to themselves the different things regarding those who died in childbirth.¹ They named them *mociuaquetzque*. And the place where the sun set, it is said, they named *ciuatlampa* after them.

And if the parents dared not that the midwife do this, then [the midwife] enclosed the little woman.² And if she died in childbirth, it is said she was named *mociuaquetzqui*. And when she had died, then they bathed her, they washed her head with soap, they dressed her in a good, new skirt and shift. And as they carried her, as they went to bury her, her husband bore her upon his back. Her hair went loose; it went covering her.

And the midwives, the old women, assembled to accompany her. They bore their shields; they went shouting,³ howling, yelling. It is said they went crying, they gave war cries. Those called the youths, those whose task was yet warfare, went encountering them, went skirmishing against them. They went skirmishing against them as they desired to seize the woman. It was not play fighting, not plundering; when they fought, they truly made war.

And as it became night they bore this little woman to bury her there before the images of their devils whom they named *Ciupipiltin*, celestial princesses. And when they had borne her, then they buried her, they placed her in the earth. But her husband and still others helped to guard her for four nights, that no one might steal her.

Ic cempoalli onchicunavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjn in ichoantin in cioa, injc mjquja imjti: in mjtoaia mocioaquetzque, qujnteumatia: iuhqujnma cioateteu, inpan qujnmata: ioan qujncujliaia in jntzon, anoço itla innacaio: iuhqujnma reliqujas ipan qujmatia: auh in iquac in aiamo qujntoca, achtopa qujncujliaia. Auh in ichoantin in teupixque: monequj qujmomachitizque, in jzqujtlamantli in: in ichoantin imjti ic mjquja, qujntocaiotiaia mocioaquetzque: auh in vnpa oncalaquj tonatiuh, qujl ichoatl ic qujtocaiotiaia cioatlampa.

Auh intlacamo motlapaloo pilhoaue, in qujchi-oaz in, ticitl: njman vel qujtzatzaqua in cioatzintli. Auh intla ic mjquj ijtí, mjtoa, motocaiotia: mocioaquetzquj: auh in oonmjc, njman caltia, camovia: qualli, auh iancujc in conaquja cueitl, vipilli: auh injc qujvica qujtocativi, qujmama in jnamjc, tlatontiu, itzon qujquentiu:

auh mocentlalia in titici ilamatztzin: injc qujvica inchichimal ietiu, tlacaoatztivi, motempapavitivi, oiouhtivi: mjtoa coioujtiuj, iaouj: ichoan qujnnamjctiuj, qujmjcaltivi, in mjtoa telpupuchtin, in oc inteqjuh iaiotl, injc qujmjcaltivi qujmanjliznequj in cioatzintli: amo motlamachhua, amo mopilhuja in movitequj, vel nelli muiaochioa.

Auh injn qujujca qujtocazque cioatzintli, ie tlapuiaoa, vmpa in jmjxpan diablome imjxiptlaoan: in qujntocaiotia cioapipilti, ilvica cioapipilti: auh in oconujcaque, njman qujtoca, qujtlalaquja: auh in jnamic, ioan oc cequjntin qujpalevia: nauhioal i qujpia, injc aiac qujchtequjz:

1. The corresponding Spanish text is more explicit: "ay cosas que los confesores ay, harta necesidad, que las sepan..."

2. This sentence refers back to the last statement in Chap. 28.

3. Read *tlaçauatztiui*.

And they who were the youths, those whose duty was warfare, ardently desired her. It is said careful vigil was held over her. They considered her just like something wonderful. If along the road they wrested the body of the *mociuaquetzqui* from the midwives, in their presence they cut off her middle finger. And if they could dig her up by night, they also cut off her finger⁴ and they clipped off, they took her hair from her.

Behold the reason they diligently sought the finger, the hair of the *mociuaquetzqui*: when they went to war they inserted the hair or the finger in their shields in order to be valiant, in order to be brave warriors, in order that no one might contend against them, in order that no one might stand up against them, in order that they might act boldly in war, and in order that they might overpower, might seize many of their enemies. It was said that the hair, the finger of the *mociuaquetzqui* furnished spirit; it was said they paralyzed the feet of their foes.⁵

Also the thieves, those whose name was *temamacpalitotique*, diligently sought the *mociuaquetzqui*. They took her left forearm. They say they bore it with them when they robbed; therewith they caused the members of the household to swoon.

And of this *mociuaquetzqui*, although there was weeping, there was sorrow because she had died in childbirth, when she had really died, it was said she had become a *mociuaquetzqui*. Her parents and the husband rejoiced therefor even more, for it was said she went not to the land of the dead; she went there to the heavens, to the house of the sun.

Thus is the tale, the consensus, [of the ancients]: the brave warriors, the eagle-ocelot warriors, those who died in war, went there to the house of the sun. And they lived there in the east, where the sun arose. And when the sun was about to emerge, when it was still dark, they arrayed themselves, they armed themselves as for war, met the sun as it emerged, brought it forth, came giving cries for it, came gladdening it, came skirmishing. Before it they came rejoicing; they came to leave it there at the zenith, called the midday sun.

And here is the story, the tale, of the women who had died in war, and of the *mociuaquetzque*: it is

auh in ichoantin telpupuchtin, in iaoiotl intequjuh vel qujmatataca, mjtoa: vel ipan mjhixtoxaoa, vel iuhqujn tleôia ipan qujmati. Intla vtlica qujntlaçaltia in titici, in jnacaio mocioaquetzquj: vncan imjxpan contequjlia in jmapil in tlanepantla hicac: auh intla ioaaltica vel qujtataca, no qujtequjlia in jmapil, ioan qujxima, qujcujlia in jtzon.

Izcatquj ipanpa in qujmatataca in jmapil, in jtzon mocioaquetzquj: in jquac vi iaoc, inchimaltitlan caquja in tzontli, in anoço mapilli: injc oqujchtizque, injc tiacauhtizque, injc aiac vel qujmjxnamjqujz, injc aiac imjxco eoaz, injc amo tlatlamatcachi-oazque in iaoc ioan injc mjequjntin qujntopeoazque, qujmacizque in jniaoan: qujl mjhijotia in jtzon, in jmapil mocioaquetzquj: qujl qujmjcximjmjctia in jniaoan.

No ichoan qujmatataca in mocioaquetzquj in jchtecque: in jntoca temamacpalitotique, qujcujlia in jopuch imatzopaz: qujl qujtquj in jquac onjchtequj, ic qujnçotlacmjtia in chaneque.

Auh injn mocioaquetzquj: macivin tlachoctia, tla-
tlaocultia, in jpanpa ic mjquj ijtitzin, in jquac vel
omjc: in mjtoa omocioaquetz: oc no cenca ic paquj
in pilhoaque ioan in cioaoa: ca mjtoaia amo iauh in
mjctlan: ca vmpa iauh in jlviac in tonatiuh ichan.

In iuh ca çaçanilli, in juh nenonotzalli: in tiacaoan in quauhtin, ocelo in iaomjcque, ca vmpa vi in tonatiuh ichan: auh ie vmpa nemj in tlapcopa, in vmpa oalqujça tonatiuh. Auh in ie oalqujçaz tonatiuh, in oc ioaon: mocencaoa, moiaochichioa: connamjqij injc oalqujça tonatiuh, qujoalqujxtia, coiovitvitze, caviltitvitze qujnecaliltitvitze, ijxpan maviltitvi: vncan qujoalcaoa in jlvicatl inepantla: in mjtōa nepantla tonatiuh.

Auh nįzca in jntlatollo, in jnçaçanjillo in iaomj-
que cioa, ioan in mocioaquetzque: mitoa ca in jao-

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "el dedo de medio de la mano izquierda."

5. Ibid.: "y dezian que para esto dauan esfuerzo los cabellos, y el dedo de aquella difuncta \bar{q} se llama mocioaquetzqui: y que tambien cegauan los ojos de los enemigos."

said that the women who had died in war and the *mociuaquetzque* lived there at the falling place, the entering place, of the sun. For this reason the old people, those who went recording things, named the place where the sun entered *ciuatlampa*, because the women lived there.

And when the sun had emerged, when already it had advanced along its course, when those who had died in war, the brave warriors, already came gladdening it, came giving cries for it, when this sun had already advanced along its course, then the women arrayed themselves, armed themselves as for war, took the shields, the devices. Then they rose up; they came ascending to meet the noonday sun there. There the eagle-ocelot warriors held this sun in their hands. There these eagle-ocelot warriors, those who had died in war, delivered the sun into the hands of the women. And then [the warriors] scattered out everywhere, sipping, sucking the different flowers.

And the women then began; they carried, they brought down the sun. They carried it with a litter of quetzal feathers; it traveled in quetzal feathers; they provided it a support.⁶ And as they bore it, they also went giving cries for it, they went gladdening it, they went gladdening it with war cries. They left it there, it is said, where the sun enters.

It was said they delivered it into the hands of the Micteca, that is, the people of Mictlan, the inhabitants of Mictlan; that is, the dead, who carried it there to Mictlan.

Thus the old people went saying: when it grew dark here it already grew light, it dawned, in Mictlan. The dead awakened; they arose. And these women who delivered this sun into the hands of the Micteca then also dispersed. They came, they descended to earth. They took, they sought the spindle, the weaving stick, the reed basket; they sought all the equipment of women. The demon, the devil, deceived in this manner: many times he manifested himself; he appeared before one like one who had become a *mociuaquetzqui*; he addressed, he encountered the one who had been her husband; he sought, he demanded the skirt, the shift, all the equipment of women.

mjcque cioa, ioan in mocioaquetzque: ca vmpa nemj in jvetzian, in jcalaqujan tonatiuh: ic ipampa in vevetque in aquique tlatlaltivi qujtocaiotique, cioatlampa in vmpa calaquj tonatiuh, ipampa in vmpa nemj cioa.

auh in oalqujz tonatiuh, in ie otlatoca, in ie cavilitivitze, in ie coiovitivitze iaomjcque in tiacaoan, in ie otlatocatiuh in ichoatl tonatiuh: njman mocenciaoa in cioa, moiaochichioa concuj in chimalli, in tlaviztli: njman oaleoa tlecotivitze, vncan qujoalnamj-quj in tonatiuh in nepantla: vncan inmac conana in quauhtin, ocelo, in ichoatl tonatiuh: vncan inmac concaoa in cioa in tonatiuh, in ichoantin quauhtin, ocelo, in jaomjcque: auh njman cêcênmanj, novian tlâtlachichina, qujchichina in nepapan xuchitl.

Auh in cioa: njman conpeoaltia, qujvica, qujtemovia in tonatiuh: quetzalapanecaiotica in qujvica, quetzalco in ietiu, qujtlapechhia: auh ynjc qujvica, no coiovitivi, cavilitivi: iaioitica in cavilitivi, vmpa concaoa, in vmpa mjtóa, in vmpa oncalaquj tonatiuh:

qujl inmac concaoa in Micteca, qujtoznequj, mjc-tlan tlaca, mjctlan chaneque, qujtoznequj, mjmj-qujztin: vmpa qujvica in mjctlan.

Ic conjtotivi in vevetque: in njcan tlaiooa, ie tlaneci, ie tlatvi in mjctlan: hiça, meheoa in mjmjcque: auh in oinmac concauhque cioa, in mjcteca, in ichoatl tonatiuh: njman no cecemmanj, oalhvi, oaltemo in tlalticpac, qujoalcuj, qujoaltemoa in malacatl, in tzo-tzopaztli, in tanatl, in jxqujch cioatlatqujtl qujoaltemoa: injc tlaztlacaviaia in tzitzimjtl, in coleletli: mjiēcpa monextiaia, moteittitiaia: iuhqujnma ie mocioaquetz, qujnotza, qujmottitia in jnamjc catca: qujtemolia, qujtlanjlia in cueitl vipilli in jxqujch cioatlatqujtl.

6. Ibid.: "lleuauante en unas andas hechas de quetzales, o plumas ricas que se llaman quetzalapanecaiutl..." In this chapter we have often translated *uica* as "to carry." In some contexts and grammatical situations, it may be translated as "to accompany." See Molina, *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl, fols. 3v (*acompañar*) and 79v (*lleuar*), and Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 684 (*uica*).

And these little women who thus had died in childbirth, those said to have become *mociuaquetz-que*, when they died, they said, became goddesses.

Then the midwife addressed, greeted, prayed to the one still resting there, still laid out. She said to her: "Chamotzin, my youngest one, Quauhciuatl, little one, little dove, my beloved maiden, thou hast performed thy office, thou hast done thy work. Thy beloved task is done. Thou hast behaved in conformity with thy mother, Ciuapilli, Quauhciuatl, Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli. Thou hast taken, raised up, used the shield, the little shield, which thy beloved mother, Ciuapilli, Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli placed in thy hand.

"And now awaken, arise, stand forth, for already it is day, already it dawneth; the morning hath reddened, the dawn hath set in; already the flame-colored cock, the flame-colored swallow sing; the various flame-colored roseate spoonbills sing.⁷ Arise, stand forth, array thyself, take thyself to — know — the good place, the pleasing place, the home of thy mother, thy father, the sun, where there are gladness, contentment, joy, happiness. Go, accompany our mother, our father, the sun! May his older sisters, the *ciuapipiltin*, the celestial women, bring thee to him⁸ — those who are always, forever glad, content, joyous, happy by [and] near our mother, our father, the sun, whom they gladden, to whom they cry out.

"My youngest one, my beloved maiden, my noble woman, thou hast suffered fatigue, thou hast suffered manfully, thou hast acquired our lord's place of destroying one, his place of hiding one. Seeing that thou hast now suffered affliction, for thou hast done penance, thou hast deserved, thou hast merited the good, the pleasing, the precious death. Is it possible that thou diest without purpose? Hast thou [simply] died? For thou hast already done penance. Who deserveth what thou hast merited? For thou wilt forever live, be glad, be content near [and] by our goddesses, the *ciuapipiltin*.

"Fare thee well, my beloved maiden, my child. Arrive with them, enter among them! And may they take thee, may they receive thee! With them gladden, cry out to our mother, our father, the sun. And go accompanying them wherever their pleasure carrieth them.

7. Ibid.: "que ya es de día, ya [ha] amanecido, ya an salido los arboles de la mañana, ya las golōdrinas andan cantando, y todas las aves..." Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 977; Vol. III, p. 295.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "yoa hija mja, pa vuestro padre el sol, y lleuenos sus hermanas las mugeres celestiales."

Auh injn ijtitzin ic momjqulia cioatzintli: in mjtōa mocioaquetza: in jquac oonmjc, in qujtōa oontcut:

njman qujnotza, qujtlapaloa, qujtlatlauhtia in ticitl, in oc onoc, in oc vetztoc: qujlvia. Chamotzin, noxocoiouh, quauhciuatl, tepitzin, cocotzin, nochpuchtzin: otitlacotic, otitequjt, ovetz motequjtzin: oticmonānamjquli in monantzin, in cioapilli in quauhciuatl, in cioacoatl, in qujlaztli: otoconcuje, otoconacoc, oitlan tonac in chimalli, in tevevelli: in omomac qujman in ichoatl monantzin in cioapilli, in cioacoatl, in qujlaztli:

auh in axcan ma xiça, ma ximeoa, ma ximoquetza, ca ie tlaca, ca ie tlatvi, ca otlacueçaleoac, ca omoqueca in tlatvitzcalli, ca ie tlatoa in cueçalpaxitl, in tzaco in tlatvitzcalli, ca ie tlatoa in nepapan cueçalquecuelcujtzcacatl, ie tlatoa in nepapan cueçalquechol: ma ximeoa, ma ximoquetza, ma ximochichioa, ma ximovica, ma xontlamati in qualcan, in ieccan: in monan, in mota in tonatiuh ichan: in vmpa aviialo, in vellamacho, in pacoa, in netlamachtilo. Ma xommovica, ma xoconmotoqujli in tonan, in tota tonatiuh: ma itech mjtzonmaxitili in jveltioatzinoan in cioapipiltin, in jlvacicioa: in muchipa, in cemjcaac in aviia, in vellamati, in paquj, in motlamachtia in jitloc, in jnaoac, in tonan, tota tonatiuh: in caviltia, in coiovia.

Noxocoiouh, nochpuchtzin, notecujo cioatl: oticmjhijovilti, oticmoqujchhvili: a oticmaxcavili in jtepoloia, in jtetlatiaia totecujo: â maço nelle axcan, otimotlaciavilti: ca ovel tontlamaceuh, ca omocnopiltic, ca omomaceoaltic in qualli, in iectli, in tlaçotli mjqujliztli: a mach nen noço timomjquli, cujx otonmomjquli, ca ie otontlamaceuh: ac qujcnopilvica, in oticmomacevi: ca cemjcaac tijoliz, taviatz, tivellamatiz, in jntloc, in jnaoac totecujiooan cioapilti:

manoço çan moiolicatzin nochpuchtzin, noxocoiouh: ma intech xonmaxiti, ma intlan xonmocalaquj. Auh manoço nelli mjtzalmanjlican, ma mjtzalmocelilican: ma inoan xicavilti xicoiovi in tonan, in tota tonatiuh: auh ma xiqujnmoviqujlitinemj, in canjn movica, in jmelleltzin qujqujça.

"And my youngest one, my beloved maiden, my lady, thou hast left us, thou hast abandoned us, we who are the old men, we who are the old women. And thou hast arisen to cast thyself to thy mother, thy father. Hast thou willed that thou be summoned, that thou be called forth? Because of thy absence are we to be lost? Because of this the misery of aged manhood, of aged womanhood will be glorified. Because of this, our lady, are we to be lost among the enclosures?" Concern thyself with us, remember us in our misery — how we seek, how we are imprisoned here on earth, for verily the sun, and the wind, the cold, the freezing tire us.¹⁰ Truly [our] bodies wither, suffer chills. And verily we are possessed with hunger which we cannot endure. Visit us, my precious maiden, valiant woman, noble woman.

"And truly thou hast gone to rest in peace; for already thou livest in a good place, a pleasing place; and already thou livest by [and] near our lord, for already thou beholdest the lord, for already thou conversest with the lord. Pray for us, intercede for us. This is all; with this we leave it to thee."

Auh noxocoioh nochpuchtzin, notecujo: ca otitechonmocavilitia, ca otitechonmoxicavilitia in tivevetque, in tilamatque: auh otiqujmonmotlaxiliteoac in monantzin, in motatzin: cujx tel oticmonequjltitzino, ca otioalnotzaloc, otioaltzatzililloc: anca quen monjca, moteputzco, â tontopopolivitizque, anca ça quen ontimaliviz in jcnoveveiotl, in jcnolamaiotl: anca can techinantitlan, texomolco, tontopopolivitizque totecuj: â manoço xitechalmomachiti, xitechalmolnamjqujlili in tocnio, in juhqui tiqujta, in juhquj tictzaqua in njcan tlalticpac: ca nelli mach in totech cevi in tonalli, auh in checatl, in jtztic, in cecec: nelli mach in pilinj, in tetzilivi, in tlalli, i çoqujtl: auh nelli mach, in timalivi in cujtlaxcolpitactli, acan veli ticchioa: ma xitechalmomachiti notlaçoichpuchtzin, quauhçioatl, cioapilli.

Auh ca nel otonpactivetzito: ca ie qualcan, ca ie ieccan in tinemj: auh ca ie itloc, inaoac in tinemj in totecuj, ca ie tictlacaitta: auh ca ie tictlacanotza, ma xitechmotlatlauhtilili, ma xitechnochili. Ca ixqujch in, ic motechtzinco tontocaoa.

9. Ibid.: "o señora mja, dexaymos aca, para que andemos de puerta en puerta, y por essas calles con pobreza, y miseria..."

10. Ibid.: "el sol nos fatiga, con su gran calor, y el ayre con su frialdad, y el hielo con su tormento..."



Thirtieth Chapter. Here it is told how the midwife exhorted the baby who had been born, and what she said to it: all the loving words. And here is told what was the lot of each one when it was born; as they said, in the beginning such was the disposition of the gods. And the midwife inquired what its lot was when the baby was born.

When the pregnant one already became aware of labor pains, when it was said her moment of death had come to pass, when already she wished to give birth, they quickly bathed her, washed her hair with soap, washed her, arrayed her well. And then they arranged, they swept the house where the little woman was to suffer, where she was to perform her office, to do her work, to give birth.

If she were a noblewoman, or wealthy, two, three were her midwives. They remained by her, awaiting her word. And when the little woman became much disturbed internally, they quickly placed her in a sweatbath. And to hasten the birth of the baby, they gave the pregnant one cooked *ciuapatli* herb to drink.

And if she suffered much, they gave her [ground] opossum [tail infusion] to drink,¹ whereupon the baby was quickly born. For this one there was already all which was required for the baby—the swaddling cloths [and] the ones into which it was received.

And when the baby had arrived on earth, then the midwife shouted; she gave war cries, which meant that the little woman had fought a good battle, had become a brave warrior, had taken a captive, had captured a baby.

Then the midwife spoke to it. If it was a male, she said to it: "Thou hast arrived on earth, my youngest one, my beloved boy, my beloved youth."

If it was a female, she said to it: "My beloved maiden, my youngest one, noblewoman, thou hast suffered exhaustion, thou hast become fatigued. Thy beloved father, the master, the lord of the near, of

le cempoalli onmatlactli capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenin ticitl qujtlatlauhtiaia, in piltzintli in oolacat: ioan in tlein qujlviaia, much tetlaçotlaliztlatolli: ioan vncan mjtoa, in quenamj ceceiaca ipan tlacati tonalli: iuh qujtoaia in ca icppa iuh catca, intlatlalil in teteu: auh in ticitl, qujtlatlanjaia in quenamj tonalli ipan otlatcat piltzintli.

In otztli in ie qujmati ijti, in mjtoa: oacico in jmj-qujzpan, in ie mxiviznequj: iciuhca caltia, camovia, qujpapaca, vel qujcencao: auh njman tlacencao, tlachpana in cali: in vncan qujhijoviz cioatzintli, in vncan tlacotiz, tequjtiz, in vncan tlacachioaz.

Intla pilli, tlatoanj, anoço mocujltonoa: vme, ey in jticiuh, ytlán onoque, tlatlatolchixtoque: auh in cenca ie mamana cioatzintli, iciuhca qujtentiuetzi: auh inje qujcivitia in jiehcoliz piltzintli cioapatli tlaquaqualatzalli conjtia in otztzintli.

Auh intla cenca qujhijotia, conjtia in tlaquatl: ic iciuhca tlacati in piltzintli: inon ie cāca in jxqujch itech monenequj piltzintli, in tzotzomatztzintli, in itzitzqujlloca.

Auh in otlatlcpac qujz piltzintli: njman tzatzi in ticitl, tlacaoatza, qujtoznequj: ca ovel iaot in cioatzintli, ca onqujchtic, ca otlama, ca ocacic in piltzintli:

njman qujnotza in ticitl, intla oqujchtli qujlvia. Otimotlalticpacqujxti, noxocoioh, noqujchpiltzin, notelpuchtzin:

intla cioatl, qujlvia: nochpuchtzin noxocoioh, cioapilli: oticmhijovilti, oticmociauilti, omjtzalmjhoali in motatzin, in tlatatl, in tloque, naoaque, in teiocioianj, in techioanj, otimaxitico in tlalticpac: in

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "dauania a beuer un pedaxuelo de la cola del tlaquatl, molida, y desechan [sic] en agua (como arriba se dixo)..."

the nigh, the creator of men, the maker of men, hath sent thee; thou hast come to reach the earth, where thy relatives, thy kinsmen suffer exhaustion, where they suffer fatigue. It becometh hot, it becometh cold, the wind bloweth. [It is] a place of thirst, a place of hunger, a place of no gladness, a place of no joy, a place of exhaustion, of fatigue, of torment.

"My youngest one! Perhaps thou wilt live for a little while!² Art thou our reward? Art thou our merit? Perhaps thou wilt know thy grandfathers, thy grandmothers, thy kinsmen, thy lineage. And perhaps they will come to know thee.³ And how wilt thou be clad? How wilt thou be arrayed? In what way have thy mother, thy father, Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl, arrayed thee? In what manner have they endowed thee? In what manner comest thou? To what purpose comest thou clad? Perhaps some little thing is our desert; perhaps some little thing is our merit! Perhaps some little thing will be thine. Perhaps our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, will offer thee something, will favor thee with some rôle. Or perhaps also thou wert born without desert, without merit; perhaps thou hast been born as a little smutty ear of maize.⁴ Perhaps filth, corruption are thy desert, thy merit. Perhaps thou wilt steal. Where-with wert thou adorned? What was bound to thee before the dawn?⁵

"Thou hast suffered exhaustion, thou hast suffered fatigue, my youngest one, my precious noble one, precious necklace, precious feather, precious one. Thou hast come to arrive. Rest, find repose. Here are gathered thy beloved grandfathers, thy beloved grandmothers, who await thee. Here in their hands thou hast come to arrive. Sigh not! Be not sad! What that thou hast come to arrive, that thou hast been brought? Verily, thou wilt endure, thou wilt suffer torment, fatigue; for verily, our lord hath ordered, hath disposed that there will be pain, there will be affliction, there will be misery, there will be work, labor, for daily sustenance. There is sweat, weariness, labor when there is to be eating, drinking, the wearing of raiment. Truly thou wilt endure fatigue, thou wilt suffer torment.

vncā qujhijovia, in vncan qujciavi in mocotoncaan, in movilteccaoan: in tona, in ceoa, in checa: in amj-coaian, in teucioaian, in ahavialoian, in avellamachioian, in imjhijoviaia, in jciauhian, in jteupouhcan:

noxocoioh cujx vel achi tictlaliz tonatiuh, cujx titolvil, titomaceoal: cujx ymjxco, imjcpac titlachiaz in mocolhvan, in mocioan, in moncaan, in mecaoan: auh cujx mjxco, mocpac tlachiazque. Auh quenamj ic otichichioaloc: quen omjtzchichih, quen omjtztlamamacac in monan, in mota in vme tecutli, in vme cioatl: quen tivitz, tle ic timapantivitz: cujx itla tocnopil, cujx itla tomaceoal, cujx tyitlatiz, cujx itla mjtzpoaz, cujx itla ipan mjtzcujx in totecuj, in tloque, naoaque: cujx noço atle ixcoaz in totecuj, in maceoalli: cujx tipopoiotzintli in ilhivilli, cujx atle maceoalli: cujx tipopoiotzintli in otimotlacatili: cujx teuhitli, tlaçulli molhvil, momaceoal, cujx tecomjc, tecaxic timaiaviz: tle ic otichichioaloc, tle otipililoc in ioaia.

Oticmhijovilti, oticmociavilti noxocoioh, notlaçopiltzin: cozcattl, quetzalli, tlaçotli otimaxitico: ma ximocevitizino, ma tlaltech ximaxiti. Ca iz monlitoque in mocoltzitzinoan, in mocitzitzinoan: mitzmuchialia, njcan inmac in otimaxitico: maca ximelciviti, maca ximotlaoculti: quennel ca otimaxitico, ca otimacavi: nel â ticmhijoviltiz, â ticmociaviltiz in tonevitzli, in chichinaqujztli: ca nel qujmjalhvi, ca qujmotlalili in totecuj: in toneoaz, in chichinacoz, mocococaviz, moqujchhuiz, motlapalihviz in cochcaiotl, in neuhcaiotl, i tonalli, ciavitzli, tlapalivitzli: in qualoz, in joaz, in quemoaz: nel â ticmhijoviltiz in, nel â ticmociaviltiz

2. See *Achi quivallia tonatiuh* and *Nepantla nictlalia y tonatiuh* in Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed.; Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906), Vol. VII, p. 39.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "hija mja, no sabemos si ujujreys mucho en este mudo, qujca nos [sic] merecemos tener, no sabemos si ujujras hasta que vengas a conocer a tus abuelos, y tus abuelas, nj sabemos si ellos te gozaran algunos dias..." Cf. also Olmos, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 223.

4. *Ibid.*: "o si por uentura aveys nacido, como maçorca de mahyz aneblado, que no es de njgun prouecho..."

5. *Ibid.*: "que es aquello que recebiste, como cosa atada en paño? antes de que el sol resplandeciese."

"My youngest one, my precious noble one, thou hast suffered exhaustion, thou hast suffered fatigue. May the lord of the near, of the nigh, [who is] thy mother, thy father, the revered parent, cherish thee, array thee. And oh, we who are parents, are we perchance worthy of thee? It may be that thou art finished: the revered parent will summon thee, will call thee;⁶ it may be that thou hast come [only] to pass before our eyes; it may be that we catch [but] a glimpse of thee. My beloved child, may we await the word of our lord."

And the midwife forthwith cut the umbilical cord of the baby; she took its umbilical cord. And she removed that which is called its afterbirth in which the baby came wrapped, in which it came enveloped. This she buried in a corner [of the house]. But the umbilical cord of the baby was saved. It was dried; later it was left in the battlefield [if it was the umbilical cord of a boy].⁷

noxocoioh, notlaçopiltzin. Oticmhijovilti, otic-mociavilti: ma mjtzmotlaçopiali, ma mjtzmuchichivili: auh ma mjtzmjmachili in tloque, naoaque, in monantzin, in motatzin in mache pilhoacatzintli: auh manoço tipilhoaue, cujx timjtztomactoca: aço tixqujchtzin mjtzalmonochiliz, mjtzalmotatzililiz in pilhoacatzintli: aço tixtlan otonmoqujxtico, aço otixcopa timjtzontohottiliue: ma oc tictotlatolchialican in totecujó, notlaçopilticatzin.

Auh in ticitl: njman ie ic qujxictquj in piltzintli, qujcujlia in jxic: auh qujtlaçilia in qujlhvia inantzin, injc mapantivitx piltzintli, injc oalqujmjluih-tiuh: injn qujtoca xomolco: auh in jxic piltzintli pialilo tetzoloatzalo: qujn iaoc concaoa.

6. *Ibid.*: "aunque soys nuestra hija, no os merecemos por cierto: por uentura tamañita, como soys, os llamara el que os hizo..."

7. *Ibid.*: "...en un rincon de la casa..." and "...lleuauanlo a enterrar al lugar donde pelleaua, si era varon."



Thirty-first Chapter. Here are told the words which the midwife said to the baby boy when she cut the umbilical cord. Thus she told him that it was all affliction, travail, that would befall him on earth, and that he would die in war, or would die in sacrifice to the gods. And she entrusted his umbilical cord to the distinguished warriors, those wise in war, to bury it there in the midst of the plains where warfare was practised. So she told him he might issue forth in war in all parts. And the umbilical cord of the baby girl she only buried there by the hearth; thus she signified that the woman was to go nowhere. Her very task was the home life, life by the fire, by the grinding stone.

"My precious son, my youngest one, behold the doctrine, the example which thy mother, thy father Yoaltecutli, Yoalticiti, have established. I take, I cut [the umbilical cord] from thy side,¹ from thy middle. Heed, hearken: thy home is not here, for thou art an eagle, thou art an ocelot; thou art a roseate spoonbill, thou art a troupial. Thou art the serpent, the bird of the lord of the near, of the nigh. Here is only the place of thy nest. Thou hast only been hatched here; thou hast only come, arrived. Thou art only come forth on earth here. Here dost thou bud, blossom, germinate. Here thou becomest the chip, the fragment [of thy mother]. Here are only thy cradle, thy cradle blanket, the resting place of thy head: only thy place of arrival. Thou belongest out there; out there thou hast been consecrated. Thou hast been sent into warfare. War is thy desert, thy task. Thou shalt give drink, nourishment, food to the sun, the lord of the earth.² Thy real home, thy property, thy lot is the home of the sun there in the heavens. Thou art to praise, to gladden Totonametl in manic.³

Ic cempoalli onmatlactli oce capitulo, vncan mjtóa in tlatolli, in qujlhujaia ticitl in piltzintli: in jquac qujxictequja: iuh qujlviaia in ca muchi tetolinj, tecoco, in jpan muchioaz tlalticpac: auh ca iaoc momjquliz, anoçe teomjqujz: auh in jxic intech qujcaoia tequjoaque, in iaoc matinj: injc vmpa qujtocazque in jxtlaoatl ijtic, in vncan muchioia iaotl: iuh qujlviaia in ca novian vel iaocqujçaz. Auh in jxic cioapiltontli: çan vncan in calitecuajllan qujtocaia ixic: ic qujnezcaiotiaia: ca in cihoatl, acampa iaz: çan vel itequjuh in calinemjiztli, in tletitlan, in metlatitlan nemjiztli.

Notlaçopiltzin, noxocoioh izcatquj tlatlalilli, machiotl qujtali in monan, in mota in Iooaltecutli, in Iooalticiti: motlacapan, motlâcotia njtlaana, njtla-cotona. Xicmati, xiccaquj: amo njcan muchan, ca tiquauhtli, ca tocelotl, ca tiquechol, ca tîçaquan in tloque, naoaque: ca tiicoauh ca tiitotouh: çan njcan motapaçoltzin ijeian, çan njcan timotlapanaltia, çan njcan taci, teco, çan njcan titlalticpacqujça, njcan tixotla, ticueponj, titzmolinj, njcan titzicueoa, titlapanj, çan njcan mocoçul, momanaoal, moquechte-tzon ijonocan, çan macian y: nachcan tipouhquj, nachcan titauhquj: teuaténpan, tlachinolténpan in tioalioaloc: teuatl, tlachinolli molhvil, motequjuh: ticatlitiz, ticlaqualtiz, ticlamacaz in tonatiuh in tlat-tecutli: in vel muchan in maxcapan, in monemacpan: vmpa in tonatiuh ichan in jlhvicaç, ticoioviz, ticaviltiz in totonametl in manjc: aço mocnopiltiz, aço momâceoaltiz in jtzimjqujztli, in jtzimjqujzxu-chitl.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "de medio de ti corto tu ombligo..." Such is implied by *motlâcotian*. As to *motlacapan*, see Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 504 (*tlacapan* — *côté, flanc*, etc.); later in this chapter the corresponding Spanish text equates *motlacapan* with "tu cuerpo." Cf. *tlactli*, in Molina, *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl, fol. 32v (*cuerpo*...), and Nahuatl-Spanish, fol. 119v (*tlactli*).

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "tu officio es dar a veuer al sol, con sangre de tus enemigos, y dar de comer a la tierra, que se llama tlat-tecutli, con los cuerpos de tus enemigos..."

3. Totonametl in manic: in *ibid.*, reference is to "ñño señor el sol, que se llama totonametl in manjc"; it is "El que perdura resplandeciendo, perifrasis por el sol," in Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 360.

Perhaps thou wilt receive the gift, perhaps thou wilt merit death by the obsidian knife, the flowered death by the obsidian knife.⁴

"And this which is lifted from thy side, which cometh from thy middle, I take from thee: the gift, the property of Tlaltecútlī, Tonatiuh. And when war hath stirred, hath formed, it will be introduced into the hands of the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, the brave warriors. They go giving it to thy mother, thy father, Tonatiuh, Tlaltecútlī; they go entering into the center, the middle, of the plains. And thereby thou hast been assigned, thou hast been vowed to the sun, to Tlaltecútlī; thereby thou deliverest thyself to him. And thus there within the battlefield, thy name will be inscribed, will be registered in order that thy renown will not be forgotten, will not be lost. The precious thing removed from thy side is to be considered thy thorn, thy maguēy,⁵ thy cane of tobacco, thy fir branch with which thou art to do penance, thy vow is to be fulfilled. And now let us hope for something; perhaps we shall deserve, we shall merit something. Work, my precious son; may the lord of the near, of the nigh, yet give thee life, provide for thee, array thee."

And if it were a female, the midwife said to her when she cut her umbilical cord: "My beloved maiden, my beloved noblewoman, thou hast endured fatigue! Our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath sent thee. Thou hast come to arrive at a place of weariness, a place of anguish, a place of fatigue where there is cold, there is wind. And now take heed: from thy side, from thy middle I take it, I cut it. Thy mother, thy father, Yoaltecutli, Yoalticiti,⁶ order it, request it. Thou wilt be in the heart of the home, thou wilt go nowhere, thou wilt nowhere become a wanderer, thou becomest the banked fire, the hearth stones. Here our lord planteth thee, burieth thee. And thou wilt become fatigued, thou wilt become tired; thou art to provide water, to grind maize, to drudge; thou art to sweat by the ashes, by the hearth."

4. in *jxaimjqujztlī*, in *jxaimjqujzuchitl*, usually spelt *ixmiquiztli*, *ixmiquixochitl*: the terms are metaphors for death in warfare. See Garibay, *Poesía*, I, p. 145. The equating of the terms with death in warfare is clarified by Garibay's translation of a poem in the *Cantares mexicanos* MS of the Biblioteca Nacional de México (fols. 42r, 42v): *Ye on necuiltonolo a in tepilhuan ixmiquixochitl yaomiquiztli* — "Ya se sienten felices los príncipes, con florida muerte a filo de obsidiana, con la muerte en la guerra."

5. *movitz*, *mjeuh*: although *mjeuh* can be translated as "thy tobacco," or "thy smoking tube," the Spanish and Nahuatl texts in Chap. 25 indicate that the reading of the term as *meuh*, "thy maguēy," is meant. See also Chap. 9, n. 3.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "porque así lo mando, y ordeno tu madre, y tu padre ioltecútlī, que es el señor de la noche y ioltecútlī, que es la diosa de los baños..."

Auh injn, in motlacapan coa, in motlacotian vitz: njmjtzanjlia inemac, yaxca in tlattecútlī: in tonatiuh: auh in omolinj, in omoiocux in teuatl, in tlachinolli inma tlaonactiaz, in quauhti, in ocelo, in tiacaaan: conmacativi in monan; in mota in tonatiuh in tlattecútlī: contlalaquitivi in jxtlaotl ijtīc in jnepantla: auh ic ivic titolo, tinetoltilo in tonatiuh, in tlattecútlī ic ticmomaca: auh ic vmpa ticujliuhtiez, vmpa ic titocaiotiez in teuatl ijtīc: injc amo tilcaaoaloz, injc amo poliuhtiez in motoca, in motēio: movitz, mjeuh macauh, macxoiauh pouhtoz, in motlacapan coa, in tlaçotlī: ic titlamaccuhtoz; monetol ietoz. Auh in axcan: ma titlatemachican, aço itla tolhviltiz, tomaçeoaltiz: ma ximotlacotili notlaçopiltzin, ma oc mjtzmioicolili, ma oc mjtzmjmachili, ma mjtzmuchichivili in tloque, naoaque.

Auh intla cihuatl: qujlvia in ticitl, in jquac qujxic-tequj. Nochpuchtzin, nocioapiltzin: oticmjhijovilti, omjtzalmjoali in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: otimaxitico in jciahca, in jteupouhca, in jmjhijoviaia in coa, in checa. Auh in axcan, xicmocaqujti: motlacapan, motlacotian, njtlaana, njtlacotona: qujtlali, qujto, in monan, in mota: in ioaaltecútlī, in ioalticiti: ticaliollotl tiez, acampa tiaz, acampa tijanj timuchioaz: titlacpeoalli, titenamaztli timuchioa: njcan mjtztalalajuja, mjtztoca in totecujo: auh ticmjhijoviltiz, ticmociaviltiz: tatiz, timetlatiz, ticiaviz, timjtonjz, in nextitlan, in tlecujllan.

Then the midwife buried the umbilical cord of the noblewoman by the hearth. It was said that by this she signified that the little woman would nowhere wander. Her dwelling place was only within the house; her home was only within the house; it was not necessary for her to go anywhere. And it meant that her very duty was drink, food. She was to prepare drink, to prepare food, to grind, to spin, to weave.

Niman ic tlecujllan, qujtoca in ticitl, in jxic cioa-
piltzintli: qujl ic qujnezcaiotia, acampa ianj in cioa-
tzintli: çan vel calitic, inemja, çan vel calitic ichan,
amo monequj in campa iaz: ioan quitoznequj, vel
itequjuh, in atl, in tlaqualli: achioaz, tlaqualchioaz,
teciz, tzaoaz, hiqujtiz.



Thirty-second¹ Chapter. Here it is told how the midwife, when she had cut the baby's umbilical cord, then bathed him; and how babies were bathed; and that which the midwife said as she bathed the baby, as she prayed to the goddess to whom they ascribed the water, whose name was Chalchiuhtli icue.

And when the midwife had arranged the baby, when she had cut his navel cord, then she bathed the baby. [As] she continued washing him, she proceeded to address him. She said to him, if male: "Approach thy mother Chalchiuhtli icue, Chalchiuhtlatonac!² May she receive thee! May she wash thee, may she cleanse thee! May she remove, may she transfer the filthiness which thou hast taken from thy mother, from thy father! May she cleanse thy heart; may she make it fine, good! May she give thee fine, good conduct!"

The midwife addressed the goddess Chalchiuhtli icue, the water. She said to her: "Lady, our lady Chalchiuhtli icue, Chalchiuhtlatonac, the commoner hath arrived. Our mother, our father Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl,³ from [above] the nine heavens, in the place of duality,⁴ hath sent him. [It is not known] how he was arrayed, the nature of that given him in the beginning, the nature of that which he came bearing, the attributes with which he came wrapped, with which he came bound. But behold, perhaps he cometh laden with evil; who knoweth the manner in which he cometh laden with the evil burdens of his mother, of his father? With what blotch, what filth, what evil of the mother, of the father doth the baby come laden? He is in thy hands. Receive him, cleanse him, wash him, for he is especially entrusted to thee, for he is delivered into thy hands. Remove the blotch, the filth, the evil of his mother, of his

Ic cempoalli omome capitulo, vncan mjttoa: in quenjn ticitl, in oconxietec in piltzintli: njman caltiaia. Ioan in quenin maltiaia pipiltotonti: ioan in tlein qujtoaia ticitl, injc caltiaia piltontli, injc qujtlatlauhtiaia cioateutl: in jtech qujtlamjliaia atl, in jtoca Chalchiuhtli icue.

Auh in oquicencauh, in oqujxietec in ticitl in iehoatl piltzintli: njman caltia in piltzintli, qujpapaca qujnotztinemj: qujlvia, intla oqujchtli. Ma itech ximaxiti in monantz in chalcivitl icue, in chalchiuhtlatonac: ma mjtzalmanjli, ma mjtzmopapaqujli, ma mjtzmahaltli: ma chico, tlanaoac qujvica, qujteca in catzaoacaiutl, in jtechpa tiqualcujc in monan, in mota: ma qujmochipavili in moiollo, ma qujmoqualtilili, ma qujmoiectilili: ma qualli, ma iectli nemjliziotl mjtzmomaqujli.

Qujnotza in teutl, in chalcivitl icue, in atl: qujlvia in ticitl. Tlacatl totecujc, chalcivitl icue, chalchiuhtlatonac: ca oiecoc in maceoalli, â ca oqujoalmjoali in tonan, in tota, in vme tecutli, in vme cioatl, in chicunauhnepanjuhca, in vmeioca: â quenamj ic ochichioaloc, quenamj omacoc in ioaiaian, quenamj qujtqujtivitiz, quenamj ic mapantivitiz, quenamj ic molpivitiz: aviz acaço cemelletivitiz: aviz quenamj ynequal, inequavitec itech ietivitiz in jnan, in jta: tle itliltica, tle icatzaoaca, tle iaquallo itech ietivitiz in piltzintli, in nantli in tatli: ca ie momactzinco ma xiqualmajli, ma xicmahaltli, ma xicmopapaqujli: ca oc ie tehoatzin, ticmomachitia, ca oc momactzinco caoalo: ma xicmjqanjlili in jtltica, in jcatzaoaca, in jaquallo, in jnan, in jta. Auh in acaço cemelletivitiz: mâ atoco, mâ polivi, in tlein itech ietivitiz in aquallotl, in aieciotl: ma qualtia, ma iectia, ma chipaoa in jiollo, in jnemjliz: injc pacca, iocuxca

1. Read *Ic cempoalli ommatlactli omome*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text treats the two names as synonymous: "llegaos a vuestra madre la diosa del agua, llamada chalchiuhtli yue oy [sic] chalchiuhtli tlatonac..."

3. For a consideration of Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl see León-Portilla, *La filosofía náhuatl*, p. 386.

4. See *ibid.*, pp. 148ff., 386f. The corresponding Spanish text refers to "vño sieruo, al qual a embiado aca nra madre y nuestro padre que se llama ome tecutli y ome cioatl, que viue sobre los nueve cielos que es el lugar de la habitación: destos dos dioses..."

father! And possibly he cometh laden with the vile. May that with which he cometh laden, the evil, the bad, be washed away, be destroyed. May his heart, his life be good, may they be fine, may they be purified in order that he may live on earth peacefully, calmly. May the filth be washed away! May it be washed away, may it be destroyed in the way that hath been assigned! For he is in thy hands, lady, our lady, Chalchiuhciuatl, Chalchiuitl icue, Chalchihuatlonac,⁵ mother of the gods, sister of the gods. For in thy hands this commoner is left. And it is thy desert, thy merit, which was given thee in the beginning, to wash, to cleanse this commoner who hath come into thy presence. Incline thy heart, our lady!"

Behold, here is another way in which the midwife prayed as she prayed to the goddess Chalchiuitl icue. She said to her: "Our lady, Chalchiuitl icue, Chalchihuatlonac, the tail feather, the wing feather, the commoner hath arrived! Receive him!"

Then the midwife took the water; she breathed upon it; then she made the baby taste it; she touched his chest and his head [with the water]. She proceeded addressing the baby; she said to it: "My youngest one, my beloved youth," or she said, "My beloved maiden, approach thy mother, thy father, Chalchiuitl icue, Chalchihuatlonac! May she take thee, for she will bear thee, she will bear thee upon her back on earth!"⁶

Thereupon she bathed the baby; she said to him: "Enter, descend into the blue water, the yellow water. May the lord of the near, of the nigh, wash thee, cleanse thee. May he remove from thee the [evil] which was assigned thee, with which thou wert vested in the beginning. May he put to one side the evil burdens of thy mother, of thy father, and that which is the vice of thy mother, of thy father."

And when she had prepared, when she had bathed the baby, then she swaddled him; she proceeded addressing him; she said to him: "Precious necklace, precious feather, precious green stone, precious bracelet, precious turquoise, thou wert created in the place of duality, the place [above] the nine heavens. Thy mother, thy father, Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl, the heavenly woman, formed thee, created thee. Thou hast come to reach the earth, the place of torment,

monemjtiz, tlalticpac: mâ atoco in teuhitli, in tlacalli: mâ atoco ma polivi, inje omotlaloc: ca oc momactzinco tlacatl, totecujo: Chalchihuatlonac, chalcivitl icue, chalchihuatlonac, teteu innan, teteu inveltih: ca oc momactzinco oalcaoalo in maceoalli: auh ca molhvil, ca momaceoal, ca timacoc in canjn ioaia: in ticpapacaz, in ticahaltiz in maceoalli, in oc mjpgantzinco qujczaz: ma tlacaoa in mo-iollotzin totecujo.

Izcatquj oc centlamantli, inje tlaltlatlauhtiaia ticitl, inje qujtlatlauhtiaia in teutl, chalchivitl icue: qujlvia. Totecujo, chalchihuatlonac, chalchihuatlonac: ca oieoc in cuitlapilli, in atlapalli, in maceoalli: ma xiquialmanjli.

Niman concuj in atl, in ticitl, conahaiovia: njman conpaloltia in piltzintli, ijelpa qujtlalilia, ioan ijcpac, qujnotztinemj in piltontli: qujlvia. Noxocoicuh, notelpuchtzin, anoço qujlvia: nochpuchtzin: ma itech ximaxiti in monan, in mota, in chalchihuatlonac, in chalchihuatlonac: ma mjtzmamajli: ca ichoatl mjtzitqujz, mjtzmamaz in tlalticpac:

njman ie ic caltia, qujlvia in piltontli. Ma ximocalaquj, ma xontemo in matlalac, in toxpalac: ma mjtzmopapaqujli, ma mjtzmahaltli in tloque, naoque: manoço chico, tlanaoac qujmoviqujli: inje omotlaloc, inje otichichioaloc in ioaia: ma chico, tlanaoac iauh, in jnequal, in inequavitec in monan, in mota: auh ichoatl in jteuhio, in jtlacollo, in monan, in mota.

Auh in oquicencauh piltzintli, in ocalti: njman qujqujmjloa, qujnotztinemj: qujlvia. Cozcatl, qujtzalli, chalchivitl, maqujztli, teuxivitl: otijococ in vmeiocan in chicunauhnepanjuhcan: omjtzioma, omjtziocux in monan, in mota in vme tecutli, in vme cioatl, in jlvicacioatl: otimaxitico in tlalticpac, in toneoaloian, in chichinacoian, in tona, in ceoa, in eheca, in jteuhpouhcan, in jciauhcan, in amjcoian, in teucioaian, in cecmjoaian, in chocoaia: ca amo

5. Ibid.: "que soys chalchiuhciuatl, y chalchiuitl yeue, chalchihuatlonac..."

6. Ibid.: "porque ella os a de llevar auestas, y en los brazos en este mundo..."

the place of pain, where it is hot, where it is cold, where the wind bloweth. It is the place of one's affliction, of one's weariness, a place of thirst, a place of hunger, a place where one freezeth, a place of weeping. It is not true that it is a good place; it is a place of weeping, a place of sorrow, a place where one suffereth. Here thou wilt be burdened with weeping, tears, sorrow, weariness. My youngest one, my beloved youth, or my beloved maiden, thou hast come to arrive! Rest, settle on the ground. May our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, provide for thee, advise thee."⁷

All that which the midwife said she did not shout; she only continued mumbling, only continued speaking under her breath. But then she spoke aloud, she spoke vigorously; she addressed, she shouted to the woman lately delivered. She said to her:⁸

nelli in qualcan, ca chocoaian, ca tlaocoialoian, teel-lelaxitican. Yzca in ticmotequijpanjlviz: choqujztli, ixaiotl, tlaoculli, ciaviztli: otimaxitico noxocoioh, notelpuchtzin: anoço, nochpuchtzin: ma ximocevi, ma tlaltech ximaxiti: ma mjtzmioicolili, ma mjtzmjtmachili, in tloque, naoaque, in totecujö.

In jxqujch qujtoa in ticitl, amo tzatzi: çan popolocatinemj, çan motenpepcionjtinemj: auh njman naoati, tlaquauhtlatoa: qujnotza, qujtzatzilia in mjxiuhquj: qujlvia.

7. *mitz-* is duplicated in the MS.

8. See Chap. 11, n. 6.



Thirty-third Chapter. Here are told the words which the midwife said to exhort the newly-delivered one, and how the kinsmen of the newly-delivered one prayed to exhort the midwife because of her travail which she had been through; and that which she said to the newly-delivered one. Very beautiful language it is, especially that which she replied to the newly-delivered one.

"My beloved maiden, brave woman, thou hast worked like a slave, thou hast labored, thou hast become as an eagle warrior, thou hast become as an ocelot warrior; thou hast raised up, thou hast taken to the shield, the small shield. Thou hast exerted thyself, thou hast encountered, imitated our mother Cuacoatl, Quilaztli. Now our lord hath placed thee upon the eagle warrior reed mat, upon the ocelot warrior reed mat. Thou hast returned exhausted from battle, my beloved maiden, brave woman; be welcome. How doth our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, determine? Perhaps our lord will bless ye each one separately; perhaps in separate times and places; perhaps thou wilt lose the baby which hath arrived. Or perhaps he who created the baby will just summon it, small as it is, will call it for himself. Perhaps he will come to take thee. Do not go constantly bragging of it. Do not consider thyself worthy of it.¹ Go appealing in sorrow to our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh."

And when she had finished the arrangements, when it was done, then the midwife seated herself. The old men, the old women began to beseech one another, to greet one another. One old woman seated herself; she besought the midwife, the one in charge of childbirth; she addressed her. If the old woman spoke, she said: "My beloved child, our lady, precious person, thou hast worked like a slave, thou hast labored, thou hast aided the noblewoman, Cuacoatl, Quilaztli. And behold, verily now, the property, the creation of our lord hath arrived, hath come

Ic cempoalli onmatlactli omei capitulo: vncan mjttoa in tlatolli: in quitoaia ticitl, injc qujtlatlauhtiaia mjxiuhquj: ioan in quenin tlatlatlauhtiaia in joaiulque mjxiuhquj, injc qujtlatlauhtiaia ticitl: in jpampa in jtlatequjpanoliz, in vel oqujchiuh: auh in tlein qujttoaia mjxiuhquj, cenca qualli in tlatolli: oc cenca ichoatl injc tlacuepa mjxiuhquj.

Nochpuchtzin, quauhcihoatl: otitlacotic, otitequjt, otiquauhtic, otocelotic, oticacocuico itlan tac in chimalli, in tevevelli, otimomaman: oticnamjc, otictlachecalvi in tonan in Cioacoatl, in qujlaztli: axcan quauhpetlapan, ocelopetlapan mjtzmotlalilia in totecuj: Omjhijotzinqujz, nochpuchtzin, quauhcihoatl: ma oc moiolicatzin, quen qujmonequjltilia in totecuj, in tloque, naoaque: cujx nononqua, cujx cececnj, amechonmocneliliz in totecuj: at tocontlazteoaz, in omecavi piltzintli: anoçe çan ixqujchtzin qujoalmonochiliz, qujoalmotzatzililiz, in pilhoacatzintli: aço mjtzonmanjliliqujuh, ma ticpopouhto, ma ie ticmomactoca: ma oc xoconmotlaoculnonochilito in totecuj, in tloque, naoaque.

Auh in oqujcencauh, in ie iuhquj: njman motlalia in ticitl, peoa motlatlauhtia, motlapaloo in vevetque, in jlamatque: ce veve, ilama oalmotlalia: qujtlatlauhtia in temjxivitianj, in jmac tlacatioanj, qujlvia: intla ilama tlatoo: qujttoa. Noconetzin, totecuj, tlaçotitlacatl: otimotlacotili, otimotequjtli: oticmonanmjqujli in cihoapilli, in Cioacoatl, in qujlaztli: aviz nelle axcan, ca omecavi, ca otlalticpacqujçaco, in jaxcatzin, in jtlachioaltzin totecuj: in ie macujl, in ie matlac in ticchialia totecuj: aviz in ceiooal, in cemjlvitl, in otoconmattinenca: in quenmach nenti

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "o por uentura así chiquitico como es, lo llamara el que lo hizo, por uentura te lo llevara para si: mjra hija que no te ingrias, porque tienes hijo, teneos por indigna de auerlo rescebido...." Compare also n. 5 of this chapter with the Nahuatl text.

the precious necklace, the precious feather. Here ye look into its face: the thorn, the spine of the grandfathers, of the grandmothers; the chip, the flake of those who already have gone to reside in the beyond — the old men, the old women. Here the truth is that through our lord we seem to dream, to see in our dreams, that we look into the face of the one who hath arrived, the precious necklace, the precious feather, the baby, that which here hath been flaked off. Here the truth is that verily now, here in the humble mound of dirt, in the humble reed enclosure, the master, our lord the creator, the master, Quetzalcoatl, flaketh off a precious necklace, placeth a precious feather. Here on your neck, in your bosoms, in your hands he placeth a precious necklace, a precious feather, the incomparable, the wonderful, the precious, the priceless, the rare. In thy presence, in thy hands he placeth a broad [feather], a precious feather, the well formed, the dark green.⁴

"And now verily call out in contriteness to our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. Sigh, sorrow: how may he will? Perhaps that of which we here dream, that which we see in dreams, will endure — the precious necklace, the precious feather. And perhaps he will grow strong, perhaps he will live for a little time. Perhaps he will become the image of, will represent, will bring honor, glory, fame to the old men, the old women. Perhaps he will revive the fate, will raise the heads of the grandfathers, the grandmothers. O that ye may yet witness it, that it may occur in your presence, in whatever manner our lord will bring it about! O that ye may yet marvel at it!

"And perhaps he will outrage the old men, the old women; perhaps here [with an] ear of smutty maize we bring honor to our lord. And also perhaps nothing is the desert, nothing the merit. Perhaps already in vain was the nubility; our lord will destroy the babe, small as it is. Perhaps the maker will summon it, small as it is — will come to take it.⁵

"Now be concerned: achieve the prayers, the sighs; enter near unto the lord of the near, of the nigh. Do not presume, do not take credit for it, do not consider that ye are worthy of this baby, [for] our lord will discover thy feelings. He will deal with

tipac quijça in jaxcatzin, in jtlachioaltzin totecujo, in cozc atl, in quetzalli: â njcan ijxco, icpac anmotlachialtia in jnvitzio, in jmaoio in cultin, in citi, in jntzicueoallo, in jntlapanca in ie nachca onmantivi in vevetque, in jlamatque: â njcan nellehoatl ipaltzinco titemjctlamati, ticochitleoa in totecujo: ijxco, icpac titlachia in mecavia in cozc atl, in quetzalli, in piltzintli: in nican omotlapanalti. A njcan nellehoatl, nelle axcan, in njcan in jcnotalleoalco, in jcnocatzaqualco in ocozc atl tlapanjlia, moquetzaltemjlia in tlacatl totecujo in teicoioanj: â in tlacatl, in quetzalcoatli: â njcan amoquechtlan, amotozcatlan, amomac quijmotlalilia in cozc atl, in quetzalli, in anemjuhquj in maviztic, in tlaçotli, in anecovilonj, in acan ca: amjxpantzinco, amomactzinco quijmotejlia in patlaoc in quetzalli, in vel iaque, in xopaleoac.

Auh in axcan manoço nelli xoconmotlaoculnonochilican in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: ma oc xonelcivicican, ma oc xontlaocoiacan, quen quijmonequiltia: cujx monoltitoz in njcan tictemjquj, in ticochitleoa, in cozc atl, in quetzalli: auh cujx motetza-oaltiz, cujx achi qujtlaliz tonatuh: cujx ichoatl teixiptlatiz, tepatillotiz, cujx qujnteiotiz qujntocaiotiz, qujmtauhcaiotiz in vevetque, in jlamatque: cujx ichoatl qujntonaleoaz, qujntzonteconacocujz in coltin, in citi: â ma oc xicmottilianj, ma oc amjxpantzinco ienj, in quenamj qujmoqujxtiliz totecujo, ma oc xicmomaviçalvianj:

auh cujx noce, in qujntlatlaitiltiz vevetque, ilamatque: cujx popoiotzintli in njcan tictomaviçalvilia totecujo: auh cujx no ie in atle ilhvilli, in atle maceoalli, cujx ie in nenquijça tlapaliviztli: cujx ixqujchtzin, atzintli, conmopolhviz in totecujo cujx ixqujchtzin qujoalmotzatzililiz, conmanjliqujuh in pilhoacatzintli.

In axcan, tle anqujmomachitia: manoçoc ontlamj in tlatlauhtli, in elciviliztli: manoçoc cenca itlan-tzinco, xonmocalaqujcan in tloque, naoaque: ma amjtíc antlatoti, ma itla amjtíc anqujtoti, ma anqujmolviltocati, injn piltzintli: amitic tlamatiz in tote-

4. Ibid.: "puedo decir que a puesto en vuestras manos, un manoxito de plumas ricas que se llama [sic] quetzalli de perfecta hechura y de perfecta color"; yaque, in the Nahuatl text, would imply their being pointed. Cf. Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "no sabemos si nro señor nos a dado una maçorca de mahyz aneblada, de que no ay prouecho njnguno, no sabemos si es una cosa yvnutil [sic], lo que nos a dado, no sabemos si tamanço, y ternexito como agua lo lleuaran [sic] nro señor para si, y lo llamara y vendra por el que lo hizo."

us [because of] our desire for the child; he will unclasp from you his precious necklace, his precious feather.

"Take heed, my sons, precious persons, our lords. All is stuttering, stammering, unstable, unsettled with which I return, with which I reply to your motherhood, to your fatherhood. Find repose. May our lord rest you in peace. Pay heed to yourselves, precious people, our lords."

cujo, topilneccaio techmaitiliz: amechonmotomjilijuh in jcozcatzin, in jquetzaltzin.

Tle anqujmomachitia nopilhoantzitzin, tlaçotitlaca, totecujooan: ixqujchtzin popolonj, tzatzacuj, aijeian, aitaliloian ic njccuepa, ic njqujlochia, in amonaniotzin, in amotaiotzin: ma tlaltech ximaxitican, ma amechmotlamatcatlalili in totecuj: tle anqujmomachiltitzino a tlaçotitlacatzitzinti, totecujiooan.



Thirty-fourth Chapter. Here it is told how the rulers, the noblemen, or the merchants exhorted one another in behalf of the first child who was born, and the manner in which they clothed their sons. And they exhorted the baby, and they greeted him and his mother, his father, and his grandmother, his grandfather; [one of] the old men, the wise men, the well-spoken did this.

First he exhorted, he greeted the baby very well as he addressed him, although [the baby] did not hear it; thereby he consoled only those who were the mothers, the fathers of the baby.

When it was known that N. had given birth, then was the beginning of the visiting. First the baby which had arrived was greeted, addressed. And to be greeted, the baby was uncovered, unclothed. Then the mother was addressed; then the old men, the old women, the mothers, the fathers, and finally the father.

If it was a child of a ruler, the son of a ruler, the son of a nobleman, as well as of an ordinary nobleman, who was addressed, if it was a male [child],¹ one gave the greeting; he said to him: "O my grandson, O master, O our lord, O precious one, O precious person, O precious green stone, O bracelet, O precious turquoise, O precious feather, O hair, O fingernail, thou hast endured fatigue, thou hast endured weariness; thou wert formed in the place of duality, [which is above] the nine heavens in tiers. Thy mother, thy father, Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl, and verily the master, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, have cast thee, have perforated thee. Thou wert sent here on earth, a place of weariness, a place of pain, a place of affliction, a place of torment; a place where misery, where torment emerge; where they arise; there where pain, where affliction are endured, suffered, glorified."²

"Thou wert sent here on earth. Thou camest not to rejoice, thou camest not to be content; thou camest

Ic cempoalli onmatlactli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtóa: in quenin in tlatoque in pipiltin, anoço in puchteca motlatlauhtiaia: in jpampa in iacapantli otlatcat, ioan injc qujmjxquentiaia in pilhoan: auh injc qujtlatlauhtiaia in piltontli, injc qujtlapaloaia, ioan in jnantzin, in jtatzin, auh in jcultzin, in jcitzin: vevetque muzcalianj, in vellatoa: in qujchioaia yn.

Achto ichoatl qujtlatlauhtiaia, qujtlapaloaia in piltontli: cenca qualli injc qujnonotzaia, macivi in amo qujcaquia: ca çan ichoantin ic iollaliloia, in jnanoan, in jtahoan in piltontli.

In onmachoc, in otlacachih in N: njman ic peoalo, in tlatlapalolo: achtopa tlapalolo, achtopa notzalo in omecavi piltzintli, Auh injc tlapalolo piltzintli: onjxtlapolo, onpetlaoalo: njman ic ichoatl in nantli: njman ic ichoantin in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tenanoan, in tetahoan: auh çatepan notzalo in tatli.

Intla tlatocaconetl, intla tlatocapilli, intla tlaçopilli: intla çan noço tecpilli, ilvilo. Intla oqujchtli tlatlapaloa: qujlhvia. Noxviuhticatzine, tlatatle totecoc, tlaçotzintle, tlaçotitlacatle, chalchiuhtle, maqujztle, teuxivitle, quetzalle, tzontle, iztitle: oticmjhijovilti, oticmociavilti: otijoculoc in vmeiocan in chicunauh-nepanjuhca: omjtzpitz, omjtmamal, in monan, in mota, in vme tecutli, in vme cihoatl: auh nelli ichoatl, â in tlatatl in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl. A otioalioaloc in njcan tlatlicpac in jciahucan, in jto-neuhcan, in jchichinatzcán, in jteupouhcan, in cococ, in teupouhqij iqujztocan, ijehoatocan: in vncan in mjhijovia, in mociavi, in timalivi in toneviztli, in chichinaqujztli.

A ca otioalioaloc in njcan tlatlicpac: ca amo taviaco: ca amo tivellamatico, ca toneoaco, ca chichina-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "dixesele desta manera (si es varón, el que habla) y viejo principal."

2. Ibid.: "donde los dolores, y aflicciones se enseñorean, y se glorifican..."

that thy bones, thy body should endure pain, suffer affliction. And thou wilt work like a slave, thou wilt labor, thou wilt suffer weariness here on earth. For this reason wert thou sent.

"And thou wert arrayed, thou wert laden in the beginning to come to be esteemed. Already for a while, already for a year, already for two years, already for a long time the city weepeth for thee, sigheth for thee. Thy vassals remain awaiting thee. Perhaps thou art the desert, the merit of the city. Perhaps for a little while, perhaps for a day it will behold thy face; perhaps it will borrow thee. Perhaps thou hast been sent to carry, to bear on thy back, to place in order [the government] for the lord of the near, of the nigh. Thou wilt assume the bundle, assume the carrying frame for our lords, the noblemen, the rulers who remain residing beyond, those who came to serve, who came to labor, who came to place the government in order for our lord.

"Thou art to serve diligently, thou art to assume the burden of the city. Thou art to become tired, to feel the weight; thou art to be the one with the bundle, the carrying frame. Thou art to be the umbrage, thou art to be the shade, the shadow, beneath which the vassals are to enter.

"O ruler, O our lord, O precious person, perhaps we shall deserve, shall merit that perhaps for a little while, for a day, we shall receive thee as a loan. Perhaps the city will deserve thee. But perhaps not. Perhaps there is no desert, perhaps there is no merit. Perhaps, small as thou art, thou wilt shatter, thou wilt become rent.³ O precious person, O bracelet, O precious feather, O precious turquoise, O our lord, perhaps small as thou art, thy father, thy maker, will come to take thee. Perhaps he will so determine that the city will remain desolate, will remain in darkness; perhaps our lord will cause it to become his place of abandonment.

"O our lord, O precious one, O precious person, thou hast endured pain, thou hast endured fatigue. Thou hast come to arrive; find repose, find rest. Thou hast come to arrive, O our lord, O precious person."

Then [the speaker] greeted, welcomed the parent, the [newly] delivered one. He said to her:

"Be of good cheer. Rest in peace, O my granddaughter, O my daughter, O dove, O little one, O

caco in momjioztzin, in monacaiotzin: auh ca titlacotiz, ca titequjtiz, ca ticciaviz in tlalticpac: injc otioalioaloc.

Auh ca otichichioaloc: ca otitlamamacoc in ioaia, ca titlacovitz: a ca ie macuil, ca ie matlac, ca ie cexiuh, ca ie oxiuh: ca ie ixqujch cavitl in mjtzechoc, in mjtzelcicivi, in atl in tepetl: ca mjtztmachitoc in mocujtlapil, in matlapal: aço ticnopil, aço timaceoal, in atl, in tepetl: aço achica; aço cemjlvitl mjtco, mocpac tlachiaz: aço mjtztlaneviz: at ic otioalioaloc in titlatqujz, in titlamamaz, tictlapializ, tictlaveltequjliz in tloque, naoaque: tehoatl tiqunqujmilpatlaz, tiquncacaxpatlaz in totecujiooan in tetcutin, in tlatoque, in ie nachca onmantivi: in otlacotico, in otequjtico, in oqujtlaveltequjllico in totecujio:

tehoatl itlan taqujz, tehoatl ticmamaz in atl, in tepetl, tehoatl ticiaviz, tehoatl teticiviz, tiqumjle, ticacaxe tiez, tehoatl timalacaioaz, tehoatl tecauhiooaz, ticeoalloaz: motlan mocalaqujz in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli.

Tlacatle totecoc, tlaçotitlacatle: aço titocnopiltiz, aço titomaceoaltiz, aço achica cemjlvitl timjtztotlanevitzinozque: aço mjtznopilviz in atl, in tepetl: auh acanoçomo: acaço tle ilhvilli, acaço tle maceoalli: aço tixqujchtzin tōxamanjz, tonpoztequjz: tlaçotitlacatzintle maqujztle, quetzalle, teuxivitle totecoc: aço tixqujchtzin mjtzonmanjliqujuh in motatzin, in pilhoacatzintli, aço iuh qujmonequjlitz: at cauhtimanjz, at ioatimanjz in atl, in tepetl: at inencauhian qujmuchiviliz in totecujio.

Totecoc, tlaçotzintle, tlaçotitlacatle: oticmjhio-vilti, oticmociavilti, otimaxitico: ma tlaltech ximaxiti, ma ximocevitzino: otimaxitico totecoc, tlaçotitlacatle.

Niman qujtlapaloa, qujciahquetza in pilhoa, in mjtxiuhquj: qujlvia.

Tle ticmomachitia, tle ticmatcatzintli, noxiuhtzine, nochpuchtzine, cocotze, tepitze, xocoiutle: otitla-

3. *Ibid.*: "por ventura tamañito como estays, os hareys pedaços, como piedra preciosa, o os quebrareys como plumaxe rico..."

youngest child! Thou hast worked, thou hast labored; thou hast helped, thou hast encountered, thou hast imitated thy mother, the noblewoman Ciuacoatl, Quilaztli. Thou hast imitated her.

"Now verily, our lord hath shown mercy; he hath inclined his heart; for the precious one, the precious necklace, the precious feather hath come to arrive, hath come to emerge; for arrived is the hair, the fingernail of our lords, of those who already have gone beyond to die, to reside; for the spine, the thorn of the lords, of the rulers, hath budded, hath blossomed; for the spine, the maguey⁴ which our lords who have gone excelling in honor, who have gone being great, planted deep, have come to appear—have come to emerge. Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl hath torn a precious necklace, rent a precious feather from thee.

"Our lord hath inclined his heart. In some way the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath taken, hath moved away from thee thy battle, for thou hast labored against death. Perhaps our lord will bless the two of you separately, perhaps he will desire in a separate manner for each one. Perhaps thou wilt depart leaving, depart abandoning the baby. Or perhaps, small as he is, a tender little thing, the lord of the earth will destroy the precious stone, the arm band, the precious thing. Perhaps he who made the child will come to take it from us, will come to seize it from us. Perhaps it hath come only to pass before the city. Perhaps it is our desert, our gift, that our lord yet deludeth us. May yet be done that which he determineth, that which he willeth. May we yet verily place all our faith in him.

"I cause thee to sweat; I shall bring, I shall move sickness upon thee; upon thee I shall move castigation. Work, labor, O our lady, O noblewoman, O precious one. All stuttering, stammering, unstable, unsettled is that with which I greet thee, I welcome thee. Rest in peace, O precious person, O our lady."

He then addressed those in charge of the baby, those who watched over it, the old men, the old women. He said to them: "Ye who are here present, here ye are inclining your hearts to our grandson, the precious necklace, the precious feather, who hath arrived, who hath appeared on earth. The precious

cotic, otitequjt, oticnanamjc, oticnamjc, otictlaieic-calhvi in monantzin in cihoapilli in Cioacoatl in Quj-laztli: â oticmotlaieiccalhvili.

A ca nelle axcan: otlaocux, otlacauhquj in jiollotzin in totecujō: ca omaxitico, ca omoqujxtico in tlaçotli, in cozcattl, in quetzalli: ca omecavi in jntzon, in jmjzti in totecuijooan, in ie nachca onmjqujltitivi, onmomanjltitivi: ca oxotlac, ca ocuepon in jnvitzio, in imaoaio in tetecutin, in tlatoque: ca oqujçaco, ca opavetzico in jnvitz, in jmjeuh, in vecatlan contlaz-tehoaque in totecujooan, in vecapanjxtivi, in veveixtivi: otehoatzin motechtzinco ocozcatlapan, oquetzalpuztec, in topiltzin in quetzalcoatli.

Otlacauhquj ijollotzin in totecujō: oquenteltzin ochico, tlanaoac qujmōviqujli, qujmotequjli in tloque, naoaque in moiaiotzin: ca otonmjqujztequjt: aço nononqua in amechmocneliliz totecujō: at nononqua, in quen qujmonequjltiz: in at toconmocaviliteoaz, in at toconmotlaxiliteoaz, in piltzintli: at noce ixqujchtzin, atzintli, conmopolviz in tlalticpaque: in chalchiuhtli, in maqujztli, in tlaçotli: aço techonmocujliliqujuh, aço techonmanjliliqujuh in pilhoacatzintli: aço çan ixtlan onqujçaco in atl, in tepetl: acaço tolvil, acaço tonemac. A ma oc techmōiocoli in totecujō: ma oc qujmtalvi, in tlein qujmtalvia, in tlein qujmonequjltia: ma oc nelle tictocen-temachilican.

Nimjtnjtonjlia: â mopantzinco njqualvicaz, njqualolinjz in temuxtli, in checatl: motlantzinco njqujquanjz in quavitl, in tetl: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili totecoc, cihoapille tlaçotzintle: ixqujchtzin popolonj tzatzacuj, aijeian aitalililoian: ic njmjtznōtlapalvia, njmjtznociahuechilia: tle ticmatcatzintli, tlaçotitlacatle totecujōe.

Niman qujnnotza in jtlan onoque, in qujpia piltzintli, in vevetque, in jlamatque: qujmtalvia. Ca njcan anmonoltitoque. â ca njcan tlaauhica in amojollotzin, in jtloc, in jnaoac in toxviuhtzin in cozcattl, in quetzalli: in vmecavi, in omotlalticpacqujxti in chalchiuhtli, in maqujztli, in tzontli, in

4. *jmjeuh*: see Chap. 31, n. 5. The corresponding Spanish, however, is "*la espina de maguey, y la caña de humo*."

stone, the bracelet, the hair, the fingernail⁵ yet here for a little while, a mere day, needeth you. Here your bones, your bodies are benumbed, tired. Ye who will do such as this, whom do ye esteem, and in whom do ye confide? Without doubt the lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath conceded to you that yet ye esteem, ye wonder at the feast, the marvel. Those whom the lord of the near, of the nigh, destroyed, whom he hid, go weeping, go sighing for it; they do not go regarding it, they do not go meriting it; it seemeth that verily these same who are possessors of hair, who are possessors of fingernails, are our lords.⁶

"And now here upon us our lord bringeth about, bringeth down upon us the feast, the marvel. Here ye take pleasure in the precious necklace, ye find pleasure in the precious feather. Ye are finding glory in it. Ye are rejoicing in the precious thing, the bracelet, the round, well-smoked, precious turquoise; the reed-like, navel-like, the truly herb green, the well-textured, precious green stone; the precious feather, well formed, very green.⁷ Here are ye who are considered parents. Find wealth, rejoice in the precious necklace, the precious feather, the chip, the fragment, the hair, the fingernail, the precious thing. Consider yourselves as parents. And verily, still at night there is the going to achieve the weeping, the tears, the sorrow, the prayers. Verily, even now call out in sorrow to the god, the ruler, the lord of the near, of the nigh, the one who doth as he pleaseth, the one who mocketh.

"How will it be if the master, our lord, hath willed that upon us there be an eclipse, that there be thunder, that he hath only come to deprive us?" How will it be if he by whom we live bringeth down weeping, sorrow? Verily, we already feel unworthy of that of which we here dream, which we see in dreams, the baby, our grandson. Yet verily let us have faith, let us await how it will be in a day, in two days — how the maker, the owner of the baby, will determine. And in a short time, soon, he will determine it in the manner in which he will determine.

jztitl: oc njcan achica cavitl, cemjlvitzintli, amech-onmocnopilhvilia: a njcan onquaquauhtitica, ð cece-poatica in amomjiotzin, in amonacaiotzin: iuh anmuchiuhztinozque o, ac anqujmottilia: auh ac itech anqujmocavilia: açoc ichoatl injc amechmocavilia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: oc amehoantzintzin anqujmottilia, anqujmomaviçalhvia in jlhvicoilli, in tlamaviçolli in qujchocativi, in quelciciuhtivi in oqujnmopolhvi, in oqujnmotlatili in tloque, naoaque in âqujztivi, in âqujcnopilvitivi, in mach vel ichoantin in tzoneque, in jzteque in totecujiocan.

Auh in axcan, njcan topan qujmuchivilia in totecujo: topan qujmotemovilia in jlviçolli, in tlamaviçolli: â njcan anmocoçcatlamachitia: â njcan anmoquetzalphachivitia, anqujtimaloticate, anqujmotlamachiticate in tlaçotli, in maqujztli, in teuxiviti in ololivic, in vel popoca in chalchiuhtli, in acatic, in xictic, in vel qujltic, in vel icucic, in quetzalli in vel iaque, in xopaleoac: â njcan anpilhoacateuhtlamatiaque: auh manoço xoconcuyltonocan, manoço toque: auh xocontlamachtican in coçcatl, in quetzalli: in tzicueoallotl, in tlapancaiotl, in tzentli, in jztitl, in tlaço-tli: ma oc xonpilhoacateuhtlamattocan: auh manoço nelle oc ioan ontlanto in choqujztli, in ixaiotl, in tlaoculli, in tlatlauhtli. Ma oc nelle axcan xoconmotlaoculnonochilitocan in teoutl, in tlatoanj, in tloque, naoaque, in moiocoia, in moquequelea:

quenmach nenti teutl qualo, tlatlatzinj otopan qujoalmonequilti: oçan techonmanjlilico in tlatcatl totecujo, quenmach nenti ochoqujztli, tlaoculli qujmotemovili in jpalnemoa. A manoço nelli a ie toconotomactocan: â in njcan tictemjquj, ticcochitlea in piltzintli in toxviuhtzin: â ma oc nelle axcan tictotemachilican: ma tictochialilican in quen muztla, viptla: qujoalmonequiltiz in pilhoacatzintli, in axcaocatzintli: auh î çan nel oc maia, î çan cuel achic: ca qujoalmonequiltiz, in quenman qujoalmonequiltiz.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "es cabello y uña de sus antepasados..." Cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," pp. 19-20.
6. See n. 5.
7. See Chap. 33, n. 4.
8. Corresponding Spanish text: "que sera si nos le viene a tomar nro señor..."

"And our daughter, the noblewoman, the valiant woman, the youngest daughter, is here present. She hath worked, she hath labored, she hath fought, she hath labored against death; and she hath escaped death. Only incline your hearts. May she yet recover a little at your hands. May she not fall sick of something. For she still hath need of you here. O our lords, O my sons, rest in peace. Do thy work."

Later he greeted the parent, the father. He addressed him; he said to him: "O lord, O our lord, O my grandson, O precious person, I shall offend thee, I shall reject thee, and I shall confuse thee, as thou workest, as thou laborest. Yet verily, thou art the seat, thou art the flute — thou hast become such for the lord of the near, of the nigh, our lord, the night, the wind; for yet thou art burdened, thou sweatest from the government which here is intolerable, insufferable. Thou assumest the bundle, thou assumest the carrying frame for our lords who have departed leaving it to thee. Thou yet guardest it for our lord; thou yet placest the government, his place of honor, in good order.

"It is here only little, strange, incomplete with which I slip, I trip in thy presence. I greet, I entreat thy hands, thy feet, thy eyes, thy heart, because the master, our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, he by whom we live, hath inclined his heart; he hath given, he hath sent a precious necklace, a precious feather, thy image, thy blood, thy color, thy hair, thy fingernail, thy chip, thy flake.

"Verily now, thou hast formed thy image, thou hast formed thy picture; thou hast sprouted, thou hast blossomed. Our lord hath inclined his heart; he hath blessed his city.⁹ [The child] hath been formed, born; he hath descended, he hath been sent from the place of duality, [which is over] the nine heavens in tiers, to bear, to assume the burden of the city of our lord. For a certainty,¹⁰ he is something deserved, merited. Perhaps he will endure, will develop; perhaps he will live for a time; perhaps he will continue a little in the service of our lord; perhaps the city will behold his face; perhaps the common folk will deserve to enter into his shade, into his shadow.

9. Read *iatzin*.

10. Read *â ca nelli*. Alternatively, the phrase might be read *ace (aço) nelli*.

Auh ca njcan monoltitoc in tohpuchtzin, in cihoapilli, in cioatecutli, in xocoiotl: ca otlacotic, ca otequjt, ca oiaot, ca oonmjqujztequjt: auh ca oconjneuh in mjqujztli. Manoçoc tlacaa in amoiollotzin: ma oc amomactzinco in achitzin oalmjmati: ma itla ic otimocaxanj: ca oc njcan amechonmocnopilhvia: tle anqujmomachiltia totecujiooane, nopilhoantzizine: ma ximotlacotilican.

Çatepan qujtlapalaa in pilhoa, in tatli, qujnotza: qujlhvaa. Tlacatle totecoc, noxviuhticatizine, tlaçotitlacatle: njmjtznococolhviz, njmjtznolaxiliz: â ioan njmjtznolalcaoaaltiz: ca titlacoti, ca titequjti: â ca oc nelli tehoatzin tinetlaxonjuh, titlatlapitzal tonmuchioa in tloque, naoaque in totecujio in ioalli, in ehecattl: ca oc toneticivi, ca oc tonmjtonja in petlapan; in jcpalpan: in vncan aiatlamattivi, in aontlaiecotivi: in tiqujnqujmjlpatla, in tiqujncacaxpatla in totecujioa in mjtzmocavilitivi: oc tehoatzin toconmotlapialilia in totecujio: oc tehoatzin toconmotlaveltequjlilia in petlapan, in jcpalpan in jmauiziccan:

ca çan achitzin njcan aiuh qujzcaiottl, aiuh tlancaiotl: ic mjpgantzinco njnalaa, njnotepotlamja: njctlapalaa, njctlatlauhtia in momatzin, in mocxitzin, in mjxtzin, in moiollotzin: in jca, in jpampa in otlacocux, in otlacauhquj ijollotzin, in tlatatl in totecujio, in tloque, naoaque, in jpalnemoanj: in oqujmomacavili, in oqujoalmjoali, in cozcatl, in quetzalli: in moneiximachiliz, in meziotzin, in motlapallotzin, in motzontzin, in moztitzin. in motzicuehcatzin, in motlapanca.

Aca nelle axcan ca otimjxiptlaioitizino, ca otimopatillotizino: otixotlac, oticuepon: otlacauhquj in jiollotzin in totecujio, oqujmocnelili in atzin, in jtepetzin: oiol, otlacat, otemoc, oalioaloc in vmeiocan, in chicunauhnepanjuhcan: in qujtqujz, in qujmamaz, in jatzin yn jtepetzin totecujio: â ce nelli in jlhvilli, in maceoalli. aço monoltitoz, aço motetzaoaltiz, aço achi qujtlaliz in tonatiuh, aço achi qujtoqujliz in totecujio: aço ijxco, icpac tlachiaz in atl, in tepetl: aço qujcnopilhviz in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: â iccoallotzin, â iecauhioztzin itlan mocalaqujz.

"O lord, O my sons, O our lord, O precious one, O precious person, I shall pain thy head, I shall pain thy breast. I shall trouble thee, I shall impede thee. Work, labor! This is all with which I salute thy lordship, thy rulership, O my grandson, O precious person."

Tlacatle, nopiltzintzine, totecoc, tlaçotzintle, tlaçotitlacatle: motzontecotzin, melchiqujuhtzin njqueoaz, njmjtznolapolotiliz, njmjtznolalcaoaltiliz: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili: ixqujchtzin ic njctlapalaa in motecuiotzin in motlatocaiotzin nox-viuhaticatzine, tlaçotitlacatle.



Thirty-fifth Chapter. Here are told the words which the ambassadors of the rulers of the [neighboring] cities said to entreat, to greet the babies and their fathers, their mothers; and how they were answered.

"O my grandson, O master, O our lord, thou workest, thou laborest. I shall confuse thee, I shall trouble thee. Here in thy presence I arrive, I stand; verily the lord, thy younger brother, the ruler N., who out there serveth as guard for thee in [the city of] N., sent me, dispatched me here.

"He said: 'Go, see the lord my younger brother who serveth, who governeth. Greet him, because our lord hath shown him mercy, hath inclined his heart, hath given him his property, his creation, the baby. [Tell him] that from here [his younger brother] greeteth him, entreateth him, because the precious necklace, the precious feather, the precious green stone, the bracelet, hath arrived. It is the thorn, the spine of our lords, the rulers who go residing beyond; [it is] their chip, their flake. They are the possessors of hair, the possessors of fingernails. It is thy blood, thy color, thy reflection. Verily their glory, their renown hath germinated, hath blossomed, to glorify, to make illustrious its forefathers, its great-grandfathers. And verily our lord hath made a gift of thy image, thy likeness.

"And how doth our lord already will it? What is he doing? In what manner is he declaring? Perhaps he will cause the sun to shine, to dawn. Perhaps we shall deserve, we shall merit the precious green stone, the bracelet, the precious turquoise. Perhaps he will mature. Perhaps he will live a little time; perhaps he will continue a little in the service of our lord. Perhaps he will rule, govern, his city. Perhaps the vassals will deserve, will merit him.

"And perhaps, moreover, soon the owner, the child's maker, will summon it; perhaps he will soon cry out for it.

"Now, above all, let us have faith in our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, in him by whom we live.'

Ic cempoalli oncaxtolli capitulo, vncan mjtóa in tlatolli: in qujtoaia in titlanti, in jntlaioalvan catca in altepetl ipan tlatoque: injc qujntlatlauhtiaia, injc qujntlapaloaia in pipiltotonti: ioan in jntahoan, in jnnanoan: auh in quenjn nanqujliloia.

Noxviuhticatzine, tlatcatle, totecoc: ca timotlacotilia, ca timotequjtilia: njmjtznotalcaualtiliz, njmjtznotalapololtiliz: in njcan mjxpantzinco nâci, njnoquetza. A ca nechoalmjoali, onechoaltopeuh in tlatcatl in mjccauhtzin, in tlatóanj in N: in nachca in tlapializtli mjtznmuchivililia in N:

ca conmjtalhvia. Tla xoatiuh: xiqualmottili in tlatcatl, in mjccauhtzin: in tlatoti, in tequjti: xiqualmotlatlauhtili: in jpampa: in otlaocux, in otlaauhquj in jiolotzin totecujó: in oqujmomacavili in jaxcatzin, in jtlachioaltzin in piltzintli. Ca ixqujchcapa qujoalmotlapalhvia, qujoalmotlatlauhtilia: in omecavi in cozcatl, in quetzalli, in chalchiviti, in maqujztli, in jnvitzio, in jmaoiaio, in totecujiooan in tlatoque, in ie nachca onmomanjltitivi, in jntzi-cueuhca, in jntlapanca: in tzoneque, in jzteque: in meziotzin, in motlapallotzin, in moneiximachiliztzin: ca oxotlac, ca ocuepon, in jnteio, in jmjtauhca: in qujnteioutiz, in qujmjtauhcaiotiz in jtechiuhcaaoan, in jachcocoltzitzinoan: auh ca oqujmomacavili in totecujó, in mjxiptlatzin, in mopatillo.

Auh quen ie qujmonequjltia in totecujó: tlein qujmoicolitica: quen qujmjtalvitica: cujx tonaz: tlathujz qujmuchiviliz, cujx tolhviltiz, tomaceoaltiz: in chalchiuhtli, in maqujztli in teuxiuhtli: cujx mote-tzaoaltiz, cujx achitzin qujmotlaliliz in tonatiuh: cujx vel achi qujmotoqujliliz in totecujó: cujx qujtlacotiz, qujtequjtiz in jatzin, in jtepetzin: cujx qujcnopilviz, cujx qujmaceoaz, in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli:

auh cujx noço çan cuel qujoalmonochiliz, cujx çan cuel qujoalmotzatzatzililiz in axcaocatzintli, in pilhoacatzintli.

In axcan: ma oc cenca tictocentemachilican in totecujó, in tloque, naoaque, ipalnemoa.

"This is all ye hear with which are supplicated ye who are our lords. Exercise thy office, thy task, O master, O ruler, O our lord."

Then one of the old men stood up. He responded for the baby and the parents, and he also responded for the old men, for the old women, for the father; he responded for all. He said: "Thou hast suffered pain, thou hast endured fatigue, O my son, for here thou hast inclined thy heart, thy body; thou hast delivered thy motherliness, thy fatherliness which the old men, the old women caused to be left to you, caused to be given to you; that which lieth folded, that which resteth inert in thy bosom, in thy breast: an incomparable thing. Here with a word or two thou entrest, thou greetest the baby, the one which hath arrived, which our lord hath given, the one he hath here given, the one he hath here sent. Although it cannot talk, although it cannot speak, for him thou confidest in, thou appealest to, thou entrest our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, who is above all, the maker, the owner of the baby."

"In what manner will he who is our lord dispose it? Perhaps we shall be deserving; perhaps we shall reap merit. Perhaps he will endure, perhaps he will develop. Perhaps he by whom we live will accord him a little [time]. Perhaps he will be one's image, one's likeness. Perhaps he will bring forth fame — will glorify our lords, the lords, the rulers. Perhaps he will cause the glory, the renown of our lord to sprout, to blossom.

"Perhaps also there is no desert, there is no merit. Perhaps small as [the baby] is, our lord will summon him. There is death not only for the old men, death not only for the old women; for night and day all are going forth. Verily our mother, our father, Mictlan tecutli, calleth, summoneth those in the cradle, those who rest on the cradle board, those on the surface of the ground, those who heap up the earth, the potsherd, and those who totter, those who crawl, and those who stand as they go, like shining pendants; [and] the mature woman, the mature man.

"Certainly now, we dream of, we see in dreams, the precious necklace, the precious feather. Perhaps our desert, our merit, our lot, is that the baby cometh only to pass before our eyes.

Ca ixquichtzin in anqujmocaqujtitzino, inje anmotlatlauhtitzino in antotecujioan: ma ximotlacotili, ma ximotequjtili tlacatl, tlatoanje, totocujoe.

Niman oalmoquetza ce vevetlacatl: qujtlananqujlilia in piltzintli, ioā in pilhoa, ioan no qujntlananqujlilia in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tetatzin: qujcentlananqujlilia: qujtoa: Oticmjhijovilti, oticmociavilti nopiltzintzine: ca njcan tlacaa in moiolotzin, in monacaiotzin: ticmocavilia in monanotzin, in motaiotzin: in amechmocavilitiaque, in amechmomaqujlitiaque in vevetque, in jlamatque, in moxilantzinco in motozcatlantzinco in cuelpachiuhtoc, i cepoatoc in anemjuhquj: njcan cententica, cencarnatica ticmotlatlauhtilia, ticmotlapalvia in piltzintli in omecavi, in oqujmomacavili in totocujo, in oqujoalmomacavili, in oqujoalmjoali: macace motlatotlia, macace monaoatilia: ca ichoatzin ticmomaqujlilia, ticmononochilia, ticmotlatlauhtilia in totocujo, in tloque, naoaque in mache pilhoacatzintli, in axcaocatzintli:

quen ie qujmonequjlilia in ichoatzin totocujo: cujxtocnopiltiz, cujx tomaceoaltiz, cujx monoltitoz, motetzavitz, cujx achi qujmuchiviliz in jpalnemoanj: cujx ichoatl teixiptlatiz, tepatillotiz: cujx qujntonalcoaz, cujx qujmjtauhaicaitiz in totocujioan in tetcutin, in tlatoque: cujx ichoatl qujnxotlaltiz, qujncueponaltiz, in jnteio, in jntoca in totocujioan:

cujx noce in amo tle ilhvilli, in amo tle maceoalli: cujx ixquichtzin qujoalmotzatzililiz in totocujo. Ca amo vevemjcoa, ca amo ilamamjcoa: ca ceioal, ca cemjlvitl in viloatimanoa, ca qujoalnotza ca qujoaltzatzilia in tonan, in tota in Mictlan tecutli: in coçoltzintli, in quavic onoc in tlalli ijxco ca: in tlalli, yn tapalcatl in cololoa: auh in moquequetza, in movilana: auh ichoatl in ie peioctzintli, viloaticac in jiolloco cioatl, in jiolloco oqujchtli.

Ca çan nelle axcan tictemjquj, ticcochitleoa in coçcatl, in quetzalli: cujx tolhvill, cujx tomaceoal, cujx tonemac in piltzintli: ca çan tixtlan onqujçaco.

1. Read *axcaucatzintli*.

"O my nobleman, thou hast inclined thy heart; for thy motherliness, thy fatherliness, the precious, the marvelous [words] have come forth. And also here with a word or two thou showest respect to, thou salutest those who are here present, those who here have endured fatigue, the mothers, the fathers, the old men, the old women, the white-haired ones, the white-headed ones, those in whose time it came to pass that the baby arrived, the hair, the fingernail of our lords whom our lord hath destroyed, hath hidden. Here we have taken all the incomparable, the wonderful, the precious [words] of thy motherliness, thy fatherliness. Here we have opened the coffer, the reed chest. The incomparable hath come forth, hath spread out; we have scattered it about; that which our lord hath inserted, that which he hath placed within thee,² that with which he hath inspired thee. May we not cast somewhere aside, reject, the things of our lord; [for] here we neglect, here we depreciate things. And this lord [N.], who serveth, who governeth for yet a little while, for a day: our lord taketh him in place of another, while he seeketh [for another].³ He hath taken, he hath grasped the word or two, like precious green stones, like precious things, like marvelous things—thy motherliness, thy fatherliness, which our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath inserted within thee, with which he hath inspired thee. Thou wilt so do that. That is because already for some time, for a day, ye have produced the marvels of our lord. In that [exercise] ye are [become] already white-haired, already white-headed, already thin with age. In this the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath made you venerable. Thou hast done good to the master, the youngest son, N. Who will return, who will respond to thy motherliness, to thy fatherliness? Are there still the strong, are there still the aged? For our lord reduceth [one], maketh [one] as a child.⁴ All this is the incomplete, the unfinished, the unsettled, the unstable. Useless am I as I return, as I respond to thy motherliness, to thy fatherliness. Rest thy hands, thy feet. Find repose; rest."

Nopiltzintzine, otlacauhquj in moiollotzin: ca oqujz in monaiotzin, in motaiotzin, in tlaçotli, in maviztic: auh no njcan cententica, cencamatica tiqujnmociauhpovilia, tiqujnmociauhquechilia: in njcan monoltitoque, in njcan qujmjhijoviltitoque in nanti, in tati, in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tzonjztaque, in quaiztaque: in oc ichoantzitzin inmatian muchioa, in omecavi piltzintli, in jntzon, in jmjzti in totecujiooan: in oqujnpolo, in oqujntlati totecujio: onjcan tocôcencujque in anemjuhquj, in maviztic, in tlaçotli, in monaiotzin, in motaiotzin: njcan otocon-tlapoque in toptli, in petlacalli, ovalqujz, ovalchaia-oac: otococecenmanque in anemjuhquj, in mjtictzinco caquj, qujtlali in totecujio, in mjtzmoiollotili: maço cana tocontlatlazti, maço ticltachitonjliti in totecujio: njcan tontlanenqujxtia, njcan titlanenpolo. Auh icchoatzin in tlatatl: in tlatoti, in tequjti, in oc cucl achic in cemjlhvitl, qujtlânevia in totecujio, in jca tlatemoa: oconmocujli, oconmanjli, 1 cententli, 1 cencamatl, in chalchiuhtic, in tlaçotic, in maviztic: in monaiotzin, in motaiotzin: in mjtictzinco caquj, in mjtziolloti in totecujio in tloque, naoaque: iuh timuchiuhtzinoz ô: ca ichoatl ô, injc ie achica, injc ie cemjlhvitl anqujmotlamaviçalhvililia in totecujio: ichoatl ô, injc ie antzonjztaque, in ie anquaiztaque, injc ie anpipinque: ichoatl injc oamechmoteutlalili, in tloque naoaque: oticmocnelili in tlatatl in xocoiutl in N: ac qujcuepaz, ac qujlochiz, in monaiotzin, in motaiotzin: mach oc tlachicaoa, mach oc tlapipinja, ca motlanemjuhiantililia in totecujio: ca motlapilqujxtilia. Ixqujchtzin aihuh tlancaiotl, aihuh qujz-caiotl, aitaliloian, aijeian: nen nehoatl njccuepa, njqujlochia in monaiotzin, in motaiotzin: ma xicmocevoli in momatzin, in mocxitzin: ma tlaltechximaxiti, ma ximocevitizino.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "aueys avierto en nuestra presencia el cofre de vño pecho, aueys sacado del, y derramado piedras preciosas y muy raras: las quales nuestro señor puso en vño pecho, y en vuestro coraçon...."

3. Ibid.: "y tambien el señor. N. que aquijsa presente persona de gran valor, que rije y goujerna, y por algunos dias le tiene nuestro señor, puesto entre tãto que parece otro que lo haga mejor...."

4. Ibid.: "no ay viejos no tiene nño señor entre nosotros algunos antiguos, todos los a nño señor yermado, y acabado: no ay sino muchachos que agora viuen."

The one who entreated spoke once more;⁸ he entreated one as if to appease.

He said: "Your heads, your stomachs will hurt, will suffer pain. I shall expose you to sickness and pestilence. Find repose, O my sons, O our lords."

"Also from far away [the ruler] saluteth, presseth the hands, the feet [of N.]; he also boweth in reverence to him. May he put forth all his strength in the rulership. May he not falter in the task, the burden. May he put forth all his strength. With all this are returned, answered, the greetings of our lords." -

When a child of the common folk was born, behold, in this manner was the greeting, in this manner the baby and the mother and the old women, the old men were greeted. First they uncovered the face, then they fondled the head, of the child.⁶

Oc ceppa ontlatoa in tlatlatlauhtianj, ontcentla-
tlaughtia: iuhqujnma ontlaiolecevia:

In vevetlacatl, qujtacuepililia, qujtlananqujlilia in tlatoanj: in noço aqujn maviztic, in aqujn vei: qujtoa. Tle ticmatcatzintli nopiltzitzine: ca mjtzalmj-oali in tlacatl, in tlatoanj, in tlacoti, in tequjt, in nachca in tochan in N: ca tiqualmotqujlitia in jhi-jotzin, in jtlatoltzin, in maviztic in tlaçotli, in tlaço-tic: tiqualmomapiqujlitia in anemjuhquj, in tlaço-qujzquj: in acan ca iceio, î cenqujztica chalchivitl, teuxivitl, injc motlatlatlauhtitzinoa in totecujioan in tetcutin, in tlatoque: injc ica, in jpampa î ce cozcatl, î ce quetzalli in oqujmomacavili in totecujio: in ocentetl iol, otlatcat in chalchivitl, in oce ixoac in quetzalli.

Oc ceppa tlananqujlia, in titlantli: qujtoa. Ca onjccaoaco injc motlatlauhtia totecujioan: aço itla onjqulcauh, aço itla onjcpolo, aço itla onjqijnnochi-tonjlili. Auh injn ca ononoconujc, ca ononoconan: injc qujmocuepililia totecujioan, injc motlatlauhtitzinao: ma noconjtqujtiah in jmjhijotzin totecujioan.

6. *Ibid.*: "antes ponen al niño esento en el regazo de la madre..."

earth of our lord, where there is affliction, there is pain. It is a place of no joy, a place of no happiness. There is heat, there is cold, there is wind, there is thirst, there is hunger, there is death from cold. Thou hast suffered torment, thou hast suffered fatigue. Thy bones, thy body will suffer affliction, will suffer pain. Thou wilt seek sustenance with effort; thou wilt live in poverty on earth; there will be travail, there will be fatigue; thou wilt live in want, thou wilt live in need.⁸ All this, O my youngest son,⁹ thou wilt encounter if our lord is to fortify thee for a little while, if thou art to live.

"O my youngest child, small as thou art, may our lord cause thee to disappear; small as thou art, may he take thee."¹⁰ But if the lord of the near, of the nigh, he by whom we live, the creator,¹¹ the ruler, the maker, willeth not so for himself, perhaps for a while thou wilt follow him by whom we live.

"And how, with what, wert thou sent here in the beginning? In what manner wert thou adorned? For he by whom we live taketh, removeth one from the excrement, from the filth. Perhaps thou wilt be something. Perhaps our lord will remove thee. Perhaps somewhere thou wilt approach someone in war, where he by whom we live recordeth one, taketh note of one, where one who is like a precious necklace is chosen, where one who is like a precious feather is ranked. And perhaps also our lord will show compassion in his heart: perhaps on earth thou wilt be a man, that is, perhaps thou wilt be rich; perhaps thou wilt make well the ridges of land, the canals; perhaps thou wilt use well the staff, the carrying frame. Let us, above all, have faith in the lord of the near, of the nigh.

"Perhaps also there is no desert, perhaps there is no merit. If thou wilt live for a while, perhaps thou wilt be offensive on earth; perhaps thy desert, thy gift will become the castigation; or perhaps thy desert, thy gift will become vice, filth; perhaps thou wilt pilfer. Perhaps fear of thee will descend, perhaps fear of thee will spread. Perhaps for thee there will be judgment. Perhaps thou wilt be stoned, perhaps thou wilt be crushed between stones; perhaps thou wilt be burned; perhaps also thou wilt be hanged.

chinacoa, in aijavixcan, in avellamatcan, in tona, in ceoa, in eheca, in amjcoa, in teucioa, in cecmjscoa: otiqujhijovi, oticciauh: toneoaz, chichinacaz in momjo, in monacaio: ticmjttemoliz in cochcaivtl, in neuhcautl: vmpa onqujçaz in tlalticpac, mjhijoviz, mociaujz, titoxomjz, tioaçomjz: ixqujch, y, noxocove in ticmjttnamjqujliz, intla achi mjtzmotociliz in totecujo: intla timonemjtiz:

ma tixqujchtzin mjtzmopolhvianj, ma tixqujchtzin mjtzalmanjlianj in totecujo, noxocoiove: auh in amo quen qujmonequiltia in tloque, naoaque, in jpalnemoanj, in teiocaianj, in tehimatinj, in techichi-oanj: cujx achi tictocuqliz in jpalnemoa:

auh quenamj ic otioalioaloc in ioaia, quen otichichioaloc. Ca cujtlatlitan, ca tlaçultitlan moteanjlia, motequjxtilia in jpalnemoa: cujx titlatiz, cujx mjtzcujxtiz in totecujo: cujx vel cana teteç timaxitiz in iaoc, in vncan tetlilanja, tetlapalanja in jpalnemoa, in vncan motepepenjlia in cozcateuh, quetzalteuh motevipanjlia: auh cujx noço tlaocoiaz in ijollotzin totecujo: cujx tlalticpac toqujchtli tiez, qujtoznequj, cujx timocujltonoz, cujx vel cuemjtl, apantli ticmuchiviliz: cujx vel topilli, cacaxtli ticmuchiviliz: ma oc cenca tictotlatemachililican in tloque, naoaque:

cujx no atle ilvilli, cujx atle maceoalli: intla achi tictocuqliz totecujo: cujx teijxco teicpac tinemjz in tlalticpac: cujx quavitl, cujx tetl, molhvil monenemac muchioaz: auh cujx noço teuhitli, tlaçolli, molvil, monemac muchioaz, cujx tecomjc, cujx tecaxic timaiaviz, cujx moca maviztli vetziz: cujx tehoatl moca maviztli motecaz, cujx moca tecutlatoloz, cujx titeztotzonaloz, cujx titetepacholoz, cujx titlecujloloç, cujx no ie mecatl tiiecoltiloz.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "levantarse an los cueros de las piernas y de las manos, llagaros an las espinas y las çarças..."

9. Read *noxocoyoue*.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "plugujese a dios njeto mjo tamañito como estas te lleuar se [sic] para si."

11. Read *teyocoyani*.

"O my youngest son, O my precious son, thou hast suffered torment, thou hast suffered fatigue. In what manner doth he by whom we live desire? What hast thou deserved? What hast thou merited? May we yet have faith in him by whom we live. Rest thy body; rest, O my youngest son."

Behold that with which [a speaker] greeted the newly delivered woman. He said: "O my maiden, O noblewoman, thou hast worked, thou hast toiled, thou hast accompanied thy mother, Ciuacoatl, the noblewoman Quilaztli. Thou hast made war, thou hast skirmished, thou hast exerted thyself, thou hast taken well, seized well thy shield, thy club. Now our lord hath moved, hath placed apart, to one side, the tribute of death,¹² even though in a few days, if verily tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, our lord will destroy us, will hide us. Verily, it is soon. Where will one go? There will be going, there will be death, there will be destruction.

"Just now our lord hath inclined his heart a little, for thou hast cast, thou hast placed thy burden, thy pain behind thee. Perhaps [our lord] will determine in a separate manner for each. Perhaps separately, one at a time, he will remember you, hide you, call out for you [mother or child].¹³ And now in what manner will the maker speak? Perhaps for some time, perhaps for a day we shall merit the precious necklace, the precious feather. Perhaps for some time we shall take pleasure like parents. Perhaps we who are old men, we who are old women shall look into the face of the precious necklace, the precious feather. Perhaps he will live a little time. Perhaps he will revive the fate, will lift up the heads of the old men, of the old women who already go residing beyond, those our lord hath destroyed, the possessors of hair, the possessors of fingernails, those who are the old men. Perhaps, also, it is not so; perhaps we dream of it, perhaps we see it in dreams; perhaps the maker will come to take him. Perhaps the misery of a man's old age, of a woman's old age will spread. Perhaps somewhere in another's reed enclosure, in another's corner thou wilt perish.

"And this: do not presume; do not consider thyself worthy of the precious necklace, the precious feather; do not pretend it is thy desert. Let the weep-

Noxocoiove, notlaçopiltze: otiqujhijovi, oticciauh: quen qujnequj in jpalnemoa: tlein otocnopiltic, tlein otomaceoaltic: ma oc tictotemachilican in jpalnemoa: ma xicmocevili in monacaiotzin: ma ximocevi noxocoiove.

Izcatquj ic qujtlapaloo in mjxiuhquj: qujlvia. Nochpuchtze, cioapille: otitlacotic, otitequjt, oticnamjc in monantzin in Cioacoatl in cioapilli in Quilaztli: otôiaot, otonmjcal, otimomaman, ovelticman, ovelticitzquj in mochimal, in moquauh: in axcan ochico, tlanaoac qujmoviujli, ochico, tlanaoac qujmotequjli in totecujio, in mjqujztequjtl: ca tel macujl, ca matlac, î çan nel muztla, viptla in techpoloz, in techtlatz totecujio, î çan nel oc maia: campa vilooz, â oviloaz, â onmjcoaz, â ompolioaz.

Çan in axcan, oachitzin ic tlacauhqj in jiolloztzin totecujio: ca omonjca ca omoteputzco tictlaz, tictecac, in meticauh, in motecococauh: at nononqua in quen qujmonequjltiz, at nononqua, cecciaca in amechmolnamjqujliz, in amechmotlatiliz, in amechmotzatziliz. Auh in axcan quen qujmjtalvia in pilhoacatzintli: cujx achica, cujx cemjlvitl tictomacevizque in cozcattl, in quetzalli: cujx achica tipilhoacateuhtlatizque, cujx ixcoc, icpac titlachiazque in tivevetque, in tilamatque in cozcattl, in quetzalli: cujx achi qujtlaliz in tonatiuh: cujx iehoatl qujntonaleoaz, qujntzonteconacocujz in vevetque, in jlamatque in ie nachca momanjltitivi, in oqujnmopolhvi totecujio, in tzoneque, in jzteque, in aqujque in vevetque: cujx no amo, cujx tictemjquj, cujx ticcochitleoa, cujx conmanjliqujuh in pilhoacatzintli: aço timaliviz in jcnoveveciotl, in jcnolamaiotl: aço can techinantitlan texomolco timopolivitiz.

Auh injn: ma mjtlic titlato, ma ticmomactoca in cozcattl, in quetzalli, ma ticmolhiltoca: ma oc otlamj in choqujztli, in jxaiotl, in tlaoculli: ma oc

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "agora ya aueys hechado aparte con la ayuda de nro señor la pelea mortal del parto..."

13. Ibid.: "por uentura tendreys fines apatados [sic] tu y tu hijo, por uentura algun tpo antes se acordara dios de ti, y te llamara despues de ti llamara a tu hijo."

ing, the tears, the sorrow yet be consummated. Call out yet in sorrow to our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh. Be blessed, O my maiden, O noblewoman.

"Behold still a word with which I end my discourse. Do not work excessively. Be calm, be tranquil, be prudent. Whom thereby wilt thou ridicule? This is all, O noblewoman, O my daughter, which thou takest, which thou graspest."

[The speaker] entreated the parents, the old men. He said to them: "O my sons, ye who are here present and also ye who are mothers, ye who are old women, ye who are the white-haired ones, ye who are the white-headed ones, here ye are inclining your hearts, your bodies. In your time the baby hath arrived, hath come on earth, a precious necklace, a precious feather. It is the thorn, the spine of those whom our lord destroyed, whom he hid, the old men, the old women, the creators, the procreators, those who engender. For our lord hath hidden them, hath placed them in a coffer, in a reed chest; he hath sent them in the water, in the cave, in the land of the dead. Were they from there still to know in what manner they were yet to create the gift of our lord?"

"Verily, already here [the lord] hath given you favor; here yet he hath given you merit. Here your old-womanliness, your motherliness is brought forth, is paid tribute, is rewarded in order that yet for a while, for a day, ye honor our lord in his world. Here your bones, your bodies are benumbed, tired.

"Whom, in truth, do ye yet behold? Furthermore, the possessors of the precious necklace, the possessors of the precious feather: will they come? Will they come emerging? Will they come appearing? Here the baby will cause you to lose [wealth]. Do not [just] hide your hands, your feet away by your sides. Incline your hearts, O my sons."

If a youth entreated, he said to them: "O my forefathers."

Behold that with which the father was greeted. He was told: "O my nobleman, O youth, here our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, he by whom we live, hath inclined his heart. Here a precious necklace is flaked off, here a precious feather is spread out. Here we dream, here we see in dreams. In thy hand, on thy neck he placeth a precious necklace, a precious feather, a precious green stone, a

xoconmotlaoculnonochili in totecujó, in tloque, naoaque: tle ticmomachitia nochpuchtze, cioapille.

Oc izca cencamatl ic nocontzonquijxtia in notlatol: maca xonmopopoxcanenequj: ma oc ivian, ma oc moiolicatzin xioalmjmati, ac ic toconqueloz. Ixqujch in toconmanjlia, toconmocujlia cihoapille, nochpuchtze.

Qujntlatlauhtia in pilhoaque, in vevetque: qujmjlvia. Ca njcan anmonoltitoque nopilhoane: auh noce in antenanoan, in amjlamatlaca, in antzonjztaque, in anquaiztaque: njcan tlacauhtica in amoiolotzin, in amonacaiotzin, amomatiantzinco in êco, in tlalticpac qujça in piltzintli, in cozcatl, in quetzalli, in jnvitzio, in jmaoio: in oqujnpolo, in oqujntlati totecujó, in vevetque, in jlamatque, in tlacachioanj, in tlacaiolitianj, in tlacapeoaltianj: ca oqujnmotlatili in totecujó, â ca oqujnmotoptemjli, ca oqujnmope-tlalcaltmijli, ca oqujnmjhoali in atlan, in oztoc, in mjctlan: mach oc vmpa qujoalmatizque, quen oc qujoalchioazque in jtlamacaoaltzin totecujó.

Ca ie njcan amechmocnopilvilial: ca ie njcan oc amechmomacevitzino: njcan qujztica, njcan ixtlauhtica, popouhtica in amjlamaiotzin, in amonaiotzin injc ie achica, cemjlvitl, anqujmotlamaviçalhvilial in totecujó, in jtlalticpactzinco: njcan quaquauhtitica, cecepoatica in amomjiotzin, in amonacaiotzin:

ac oc nel anqujmottilia cujx oc vallazque, cujx oc onqujçaqujvi, cujx oc onmomanaqujvi in cozqueque, in quetzaleque: njcan amechonmotlaixcaualtilia in piltzintli: macanoçomo amomatzin, amocxitzin amotlantzinco xicmaqujlican: ma noçoc ontlacaa in amoiollotzin nopilhoane.

Intla telpuchtli tlatlatlauhtia: qujmjlvia. Notechiuhcatzitzinoane.

Izcatquj ic tlapalolo in tatli: ilhvilo. Nopiltze, telpuchtli: ca njcan tlacaa in jiollotzin totecujó, in tloque, naoaque, in jpalnemo: njcan mocoizatlapanjlia: njcan moquetzalmanjlia: njcan titemjquj, ticochitleoa: momac, moquechtlan qujmotlalilia cozcatl, quetzalli, chalchiuhtli, quetzalli maqujztli: njcan mjxco, mocpac titlachia, otijol, otitlacat, otimjxiptlati: ac qujmatiz î çan tixtlan conmoqujxtilia,

precious feather,¹⁴ a precious bracelet. Here we see thy face. Thou hast been formed; thou hast been born; thou hast formed thy image. Who will know when he by whom we live removeth him from our presence? And perhaps the lord of the near, of the nigh, he by whom be live, will mature him, perhaps give him a day, perhaps sustain him a while. And who knoweth [if] thou wilt depart [to die] rejecting him, abandoning him? It is already in the hands of the maker. And so in what manner will [our lord] require? Where will [the child] be looking up to one? Where will he go to look into one's face? Or in what manner will he perish?¹⁵ Perhaps he will struggle, labor for existence. Perhaps misery, poverty will spread. Perhaps he will be destitute. Perhaps the herbs, the forest will spread; perhaps he will be in need, in want on earth.

"There is no one who knoweth how he by whom we live will determine for him. Let us yet put our faith in [our lord]. Let us yet place complete faith in him.

"In truth, cry out in supplication to him; achieve thy sighing, thy weeping, thy sadness. Be especially diligent in it, O my son, O youth, O servant."

And it was for an indefinite time that the cradle or the parents were greeted — perhaps the greetings lasted ten days or twenty days.

And the rulers, the noblemen were greeted with large cotton capes, with capes, with precious capes; if [the baby] were female, [with] skirts, shifts, perhaps twenty or forty. The name of this was *ixquemiltl*. And when it was just someone of honor,¹⁶ either a cape [and] a breech clout or a skirt [and] shift [were given]. And he who was of the least greeted with food, with drink, with pulque.

in ipalnemoanj: auh anoço qujmotetzaviliz in tloque, naoaque, in jpalnemoa, aço qujmocemjlvililitiz, aço achitzin qujmotociliz. Auh ac qujmati in toconmotlaxiliteoaz, in tocontlazteoaz: anca ie imactzinco in pilhoacatzintli: anca quen qujmonequjliliz, can acovic moteitztilitez, can tecamacpa motztilitoz: auh quen noce amj mopopolivitiz: at qujciaviz, qujhijoviz, at timaliviz in jcnopillotl, in jcnotlacaiaotl, at vmpa onqujçaz, at timaliviz in qujlitl, in quavitl, at toxomjz, oaçomjz in tlalticpac.

anca aocac qujmati, in quen qujmonequjlitz in jpalnemoa: ma oc tictotemachilican, ma oc tictocenmachilican:

manoçoc nelli xonmocnochoqujli, ma oc ontlamj in melciciviliz, in mochoqujz, in motlaocul: ma oc cenca itlan xonmocalaquj nopiltze, telpuchtle, xole.

Auh amo çan tamachiuquj: in tlapalolo çoçolli, in noço pilhoa: aço matlaqujlhviltl, anoço cempoalilvitl in nemj tetlapalolli.

Auh in tlatoque, in pipilti: ic tlapalolo quachtli, tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli: intla cioatl, cueitl, vipilli: aço cenqujmjlli, aço onqujmjlli. Injn itoca ixquemjtl. Auh î çan aca mâmaviztic: aço centetzintli tilmatzintli, maxtlatzintli: anoço cueitl, vipilli. Auh in qujtzacuja, tlaqualtzintli, atzintli, octli: injc qujtla-paloe

14. *quetzalli* is repeated in the MS.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "y si esto asi fuere quedara desamparado, y andara muerto de hambre por casas ajenas..."

16. *Ibid.*: "entre los que no son señores, sino gente honrrada o rica..."



Thirty-sixth Chapter. Here it is told how the fathers, the mothers summoned the soothsayers, the wise men, in order that they tell of what sort the day was when the baby was born; they studied the kind of day on which he was born. But these soothsayers first inquired carefully exactly when the baby was born. If it was perhaps not yet exactly midnight, then they assigned the day to the day sign which had passed. But if he had been born when midnight had passed, they assigned the day to the day sign which followed. And if he had been born exactly at the division of the night, they assigned the day to both [day signs]. And then they looked at their books; there they saw the sort of merit of the baby, perhaps good, or perhaps not, according as was the mandate of the day sign on which he was born.

And when the baby was born, then they read the day signs. They summoned the soothsayer;¹ they told him the instant it had arrived,² the instant it had been born. Then he looked at, he opened out the writings. The soothsayer studied the day signs. He inquired if perhaps it was during the night that it was born, that it had arrived — perhaps at the division of the night, perhaps [when] the division of the night had passed.

If the division of the night had not already arrived, it belonged in this day in which it was born; to this day sign was assigned its birth. But if the division of the night had passed [when] the baby was born, then it was assigned to that day; to it was assigned the day sign which dawned, the accompanying day sign. And if the baby was born exactly at the division of the night, called midnight, it took all of the preceding day sign; also it took all of the day sign which dawned. And if it was born at daybreak, or [when] there was a little sun, or at about that time, its very lot was the day, the day sign, and its companions which governed there.³

Ic cempoalli oncaxtolli oce capitulo, vncan mjtóa: in quenjn tetaoan, tenanoan, qujnnotzaia in tonalpouhque, in tlamatinjme: injc qujtoaia in quenamj itonal catca, in otlacat piltontli: qujttaia in quenamj tonalli ipan otlacat. Auh in iehoantin tonalpouhque: achto vel ic tlatlanja, in quenman vel otlacat piltontli: in cujx aiamo vel ioalnepantla: ic itech qujpoaia in tonalli, i cemjlvitlapoalli, in oqujz. Auh intla oqujz ioalnepantla, tlatcatia: itech qujpoaia in tonalli, i cemjlvitlapoalli, in oallatoqujlia: auh intla vel ioalli ixelivian tlatcatia: necoc qujpoaia in tonalli. Auh njman qujttaia in jmamux: vncan qujttaia, in quenamj imaceoal piltontli: in cujx qualli, in cujx noço amo: in juh catca itoloca i cemjlvitlapoalli: in jpan otlacat.

Auh in jquac otlacat piltzintli: njman qujtonalpo-
via, qujnnotza in tonalpouhquj, qujnnotza in jnman
oiecoc, in jnman otlalticpacqujz, Niman qujtta, quj-
çoa in jtlil, in jtlapal: in iehoatl tonalpouhquj, qujtta
i cemjlhviltlapoalli: tlatlanj. Cujx ioaltica in otlacat,
in oiecoc, cujx xelivi ioalli, cujx, oonqujz in ioalli
xelivi:

intlacaiemo aci ioalli xelivi: oc nepa cemjlvitl
ipan povi, in jpan otlacat: oc nepa tonalli itech pouh-
quj in jtlacatiliz: auh intla oqujz ioalli xelivi, otlacat
piltzintli, ie nipa cemjlhviltl itech povi: iehoatl
itech povi in tonalli in ie oallathuj, tlatquj tonalli:
auh intla vel ioalli xelivi, in mjtóa ioalnepantla
tlatcati piltzintli: ixqujch qujcuj in ialoa tonalli, no
jxqujch qujcuj, in ieh oallathuj, cemjlvitl tonalli:
auh intla tlatthujnaoac tlatcati, anoço achi tonatiuh,
anoço quenman o, vel inemac i cemjlhviltl in tonalli,
ioan in jtlatqujcaio: in vncan tlatoa.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "a este proposito, yvan luego a buscar, y hablar al adujno que se llama tonalpouhquj, que qujere dezir, sabe conocer la fortuna de los que nacen...."

2. Read oecoc.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "atribuya el nacimiento al caracter que regia en aquel dia, y a los demas que lleuava consigo."

Then he opened out, he looked at their books, at his paintings, his writings; he read, examined, looked at the day sign on which the baby was born, studied which were those related to it which governed there. If perhaps it was a bad day, perhaps good were its companions which governed there. This improved it.

Then he consulted the parents, the old men, the old women; he said to them: "Good is [the day sign] on which he was born. He will govern, be a lord, be a ruler." Or else he said: "He will have wealth." Or he said: "He will be brave, an eagle warrior, an ocelot warrior, a valiant warrior; he will provide sacrificial victims; he will be in the military command; he will provide drink, he will provide offerings to the sun, to Tlaltecuctli." Or he would say to them: "The baby hath arrived at a bad time, in the time of an evil day sign. However, good are its companions, which govern there, for they help, improve, moderate the evil day sign."

Then he established when it was to be bathed: he said, "Four days from now it will be bathed."

And if it was not a good day, if it was an evil day sign on which it was born, on which the baby had arrived, and if those which governed there, along with the day, were also evil, if its companions were evil, if there was no improvement for the day, he indicated how the baby would be.

He said to them: "It is in the time of an evil day sign that the baby was born, for it is a time of evil. Nothing is its betterment, for it is a most dangerous time. Behold that which will befall him: vice will be his desert; he will become a thief; misery will be his desert, his lot. Vainly will he struggle on earth, but that which will be done will fail. Or he will remain sleeping, he will remain reclining, he will be lazy."

Or he said to them: "Jimson weed will be his desert, his mission. He will take to pulque."

Or he said to them: "He will not grow old. He will only endure a while." [Or he said:] "Consider! The sun was only broken [half good, half bad] when he was born."⁴

Then he chose a good day, not just the fourth day hence, that it be bathed. He still skipped; he sought a good day, or a good one of its companions which governed there. And the desert, the merit, the lot of

Niman qujçoa, qujtta imamux, in jtlacujlol, in jtlil, in jtlapal, qujpoa, qujcxitoca: qujtta in tlein tonalli, ipan otlacat piltontli, qujtta in tlein vncan tlatoa, in tlein itlatqujcaio, in acaçomo qualli tonalli, aço ie qualli in jtlatqujcaio, in vncan tlatoa: ieçoa tl qujqualtilia:

njman qujnnonotza in pilhoaue in vevetque, in jlamatque: qujmjlhvía. Qualtzin in jpan omotlacatili, petlatiz, icpaltiz, tecutiz, tlatocatiz: anoço qujtoa, mocujltonoz: anoço qujtoa, oqujchtiz, quauhtiz, ocelotiz, tiacauhtiz, imac manjz in quauhxicalli, in quauhpiatzli, quauhpetlapan, ocelopetlapan iez, catlitiz, qujtlamacaz in tonatiuh, in tlaltecuctli: anoço qujmjlhviz. Amo qualcan in omecavi piltzintli, tequantonalpan: iece qualtzin in vncan tlatoa, in jtlatqujcaio, ca qujnnamjquj, ca qujtlacualtilia, qujcecevia in tequantonalli:

njman qujtlalia in jquac maltiz: qujtoa: axcan nauhiopan in maltiz.

Auh intlacamo qualli tonalli, intla tequantonalli ipan otlacat, in jpan omecavi piltzintli: intlacamo no qualli in vncan tlatoa, in jpan cemjlhvít: intlacamo qualli in jtlatqujcaio, intlacatle iqualtica i cemjlhvít, qujioliuhtlamachtia in quenamj iez piltzintli:

qujmjlhvía. Ca tequantonalpan in omotlacatili piltzintli, ca amo qualcan: auh ca çan njman atle iqualtica, ca vel ovican. Izca in jpan muchioaz teuhtli, tlaçulli ilvil iez: moochtequjliz, icnoiotl ilhvít, inemac iez, nêia in motetecotinemjz talticpac: iece atletiz, in tlein mailiz noce coçtoz, vetztoz, tlatziuhquj iez.

noce qujmjlhvía, mjxitl, tlapatl ilhvít, itequjuh iez, octli qujmocujtlaviz:

noce qujmjlhvía, amo vecaoaz, çan achi tonatiuh qujoallatiz: tla xicmottilican çan tlapantimanj in tonatiuh, in vncan omotlacatili.

Niman qujpepena in qualli tonalli: amo çan nauhiopantica in maltia, oc conchololtia qujtilia in qualtzin tonalli, in anoço qualtzin in vncan tlatoa in jtlatqujcaio. Auh in tonalpouhquj, in ijlvít, in jmaceoal,

4. See Chap. 30, n. 5. Corresponding Spanish text: "poco vivira sobre la tierra, o les dize: mjrad que esta su signo indiferente medio bueno, y medio malo..."

the soothsayer was to drink, to eat; and not just a little did they give him; he went [with] turkeys and a load of food.⁵

in jnemaç: atli, tlaqua, qujtlaughtia: auh amo çan quexqujch in qujmaca, çan mantiuh in totolin, auh centlamamalli in tlaqualli.

5. Ibid.: "Lo que merece este adiuño, por esta adiuñança que le dan a comer, y a beuer, y algunas mantas, y danle muchas cosas que son gallinas, y vna carga de comjda."



Thirty-seventh Chapter. Here is told the second [element] in the bathing of the babies, and that which was done when a name was given the baby, and the manner of eating, of banqueting.

And when it was time to bathe the baby, then they prepared for him all that was necessary; they prepared, they made for him a little shield, a little bow, little arrows. And they made him four little arrows; they said one belonged to the east, one belonged to the west, one belonged to the south, one belonged to the north. And they made him a tortilla of amaranth seed dough, which became a shield on which arrows were extended, with a bow, and some other things of amaranth seed dough. And [they prepared] food, sauce, [a stew] with beans, parched maize kernels. And it was concluded [with] his little breech clout, his little cape. And poor people only made him the bow, the little arrows, and the little shield; perhaps also tamales and parched maize kernels.

And if a girl was to be bathed, they prepared for her all the equipment of women — the spinning whorl, the batten, the reed basket, the spinning bowl, the skeins, the shuttle, her little skirt, her little shift.¹

And when this was done, when all which was necessary had been prepared, then all the kin folk, the old men, the old women, the illustrious were assembled. Then they summoned the skilled one, the one in charge of childbirth, the midwife. It was still dark when they were assembled. And when the sun had come to appear, when already there was a little [sun], then the midwife requested a new basin and water. Thereupon she took the baby; she cradled it in her arms. Thereupon were taken in one's arms all which had been prepared; they placed all which had been prepared in the middle of the courtyard. And to bathe it the midwife stood facing the west. Then the midwife bathed the baby there.

Injc cempoalli oncaxtolli omome capitulo, vncan mjttoa: injc vntlamantli, in jnnealtiliz pipiltontonti: auh in tlein muchioaia injc tocamacoia piltontli: ioan in quenjn tlaqualoia, necoanotzaloia.

Auh in jquac maltia in piltzintli: njman qujcencavilia in jxqujch monenequi, qujcencavilia, qujchivilia chimaltontli, tlavitoltontli, mjtontonti: auh navi in mjtontonti qujchivilia, qujl ce tlapcopa pouhquj, qujl ce cihoatlampa pouhquj, qujl ce vitztlampa pouhquj, qujl ce mjctlanpa pouhquj: ioan qujchivilia tzoallaxcalli, chimalli muchioa, mjtlanpa tentiuh, tlavitollo, ioan cequj çaçan tzoalli, ioan tlaqualli, molli, ioan cheio izqujtl, ioan iecavi imaxtlaton, itilmaton: auh in jcnotlaca, çan ixqujch in tlavitolli, mjtontonti, ioan chimaltontli in qujchivilia, aço ioan tamalli, ioan izqujtintli.

Auh intla cihoatzintli maltiz: qujcencavilia in jxqujch icioatlatquj, in malacatl, in tzotzopaztli, in tanatli, in tzaolcaxitl, in quatzontli, ixijotl, ycueton, ivipilton.

Auh in ie iuhquj in omocencauh in jxqujch mone-nequj: njman mocentlalia in jxqujchtin teoaiulque in vevetque, in jlamatque in maviztililonj: njman connotza in tultecatli, in jmac tlatacioanj in ticitl, oc ioan in necentlalilo: auh in omomanaco tonatiuh, in ie achiton: njman qujtlanj iancujc caxitl in ticitl, ioan atl: njman ic conana in piltzintli, connapaloa; njman ie ic tlanapalolo in jxqujch omocencauh, ithoalnepantla conteca in jxqujch omocencauh: auh injc caltia, ie tonatiuh icalaqujampa itzticac in ticitl: njman vncan caltia in ticitl, in piltzintli:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "aparejauanla todas las alhajas mugeriles, que eran adereços para texer, y para hilar como era uso, y rueca, y lançadera, y su petaquilla, y vaso pa hilar eta. y tambien su vipilejo y sus naos, pequenijas."

She said to him: "Eagle warrior, ocelot warrior, valiant warrior, youth, my youngest son, thou hast come to arrive on earth. Thy mother, thy father, Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl have sent thee. Thou wert cast, thou wert bored in thy home, the place of duality, [over] the place of the nine heavens. The lord of the near, of the nigh, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, hath given thee.² And now arrive with thy mother, Chalchiuhtli icue, Chalchiuhtlatonac."

Then she made him taste the water. She said to him: "Take it, receive it. Here is wherewith thou wilt endure, wherewith thou wilt live on earth, wherewith thou wilt grow, wherewith thou wilt develop. Behold, we have completely merited our sustenance on earth. Take it!"

Then she placed water on his breast; she said to him: "Here is the blue water, the yellow water, which cleanseth our hearts, so that they be purified; which washeth away our filthiness. Take it! May it cleanse, may it purify thy heart; may it cleanse it."

Then she poured water on the crown of his head. She said to him: "My youngest son, my youth, take, receive the water of the lord of the earth, our sustenance, our refreshment, which is that which cleanseth one, that which batheth one. May the heavenly water, the blue water, the deep green, go into thy body; may it remain in thy body. May it remove, may it destroy the manner of things thou wert given with which thou wert arrayed in the beginning—the bad, the evil; for we are still left in its hands; we merit it; for even before, our mother, Chalchiuhtli icue, knoweth of it."

Thereupon she bathed him all over; she massaged him. She proceeded speaking to him: "Wherever thou art, as thou art a baby cast down to earth: go, move!³ Now the baby liveth again; he is born again; now he becometh clean, he becometh pure again. Our mother Chalchiuhtli icue casteth, perforateth him again."

Thereupon she raised him as an offering to the heavens. She said: "Here is thy little creature. Thou hast sent him, thou hast given him to the earth, a place of pain, a place of torment, a place of penitence. Array him, inspire him! Thou art the master, thou art Ome tecutli, thou art Ome ciuatl."

qujlhvia. Quauhtli, ocelutl, tiacauh, telpuchtli, noxocoioh: otimaxitico in tlalticpac, omjtzalmj-oali in monan, in mota in vme tecutli, in vme cioatl, otipitzaloc, otimamalioac in muchan in vmeiocan, in chicunauhnepanjuhcan: omjtzmomacavili in tloque, naoaque in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl. Auh in axcan ma itech ximaxiti in monantzin in chalchiuhtli icue, in chalchiuhtlatonac:

njman conpaloltia in atl: qujlvia. Xicmocujli, xicmocelili: izcatquj injc tinemjz injc tijoliz tlalticpac, injc titzmolijnz, injc ticeliaz: izca in techcenmaceuh, in toiolca, in tonenca tlalticpac, xicmocujli.

Niman ijelpa qujtlalilia in atl, qujlhvia. Izca, in matlalatl, in toxpalatl: in qujpaca, in chipaoa in toiollo, in catoctia in catzaoaliztli: xicmocujli, ma qujqualtili, ma qujjectili in moiollotzin, ma qujchipaoa.

Niman iquanepantla contequjlia in atl: qujlhvia. Noxocoioh notelpuchtzin: ma xicmocujli, ma xicmocelili in jatzin tlalticpaque, in tonenca, in toiolca, in tocelica: in techipaoanj, in teahaltianj, ma motlacapan iauh, ma motlacapan nemj in jlhvicaatl, in matlalatl, in xopaleoac: ma qujquanj, ma qujpolo: in quenamj timacoc, ic tapanaloc in ioaia in aqualotl, in aieciotl: ca oc imac ticaoalo in timaceoalti, ca oc ie qujmati in tonan in chalchiuhtli icue:

njman ie novian caltia, qujmamatiloa: qujtoti-nemj: canjn tica, injc titlamotlalli piltzintli: xictlacavi, ximjquanj: axcan oc ceppa ioli, tlatati, in piltzintli: axcan oc ceppa qualtia, oc ceppa iectia, oc ceppa qujpitza, qujmamali in tonan in chalchiuhtlicue.

Niman ie ic conjia in âco, in jlhvica: conjtoa. Ca izcatquj in motlaiocultzin, in otiqualmjoali, no tiqualmomacavili in toneoia, in chichinacoian, in tlamaceoaloian, in tlalticpac: ma xiqualmuchichivili, ma xiqualmjpichili in titlacatl, in tometecutli, in tometcihoatl:

2. A translation of this passage may be read in Garibay, *Llave*, p. 293. The rôle of Quetzalcoatl as a creator god has been discussed by a number of authoritative scholars; see among recent works that of Cottie A. Burland, *The Selden Roll* (Monumenta Americana, Vol. II, ed. Gertrud Kutscher; Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1955), both explanatory text and reproduction of the roll.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "A dōdequjera que estas tu, que eres cosa impexible al nño dexale, y vete, apartate del..."

A second time she raised him up; she raised him as an offering to the heavens. She said: "I address thee, I cry out to thee, thou who art mother of the gods, thou who art Citlallatonac, thou who art Citlallicue. Whatsoever is thy spirit, give it to him. Give thy spirit to the commoner."

A third time she raised him as an offering to the heavens. She said: "Now, ye who are dwellers in the heavens, ye who are heavenly noblemen, ye who are assembled in the heavens: here is the commoner. Whatsoever is your spirit, give it to him. Give your spirit to him that he may dwell on earth."

A fourth time she raised him as an offering to the heavens. She addressed, she cried out to the sun. She said: "Our mother, our father, Tonatiuh, Tlaltecutli: here is the commoner, thy troupial, thy roseate spoonbill, the eagle, the ocelot. Unto thee I declare him, unto thee I commend him, unto thee I raise him as an offering—to thee, the resplendent one, the turquoise prince, the eagle, the ocelot which is ashen, which is well blotched, the brave warrior, the valiant warrior.⁴ He is thy possession, thy property; he is dedicated to thee. For this was he created, to provide thee drink, to provide thee food, to provide thee offerings. He belongeth to the battlefield there in the center, in the middle of the plains."

Then she took up the shield, the bow, the spear. She said: "Here are the instruments of war,⁵ the little shield, the shield, the spear, the long one, the curved one, which are for thy gladness, for thy praise. Provide that which thou providest [for warriors], whatsoever his desert, his merit, his lot. Perhaps he will be able to arrive by thee. Perhaps he will be able to go there; perhaps he will go to know thy home, the place of contentment, the place of happiness, there where the eagle warriors, the ocelot warriors, the valiant warriors, those who died in war, rejoice, are glad, are happy, remain gladdening thee, remain giving cries to thee. Perhaps the poor commoner will be able to arrive by them. Show him mercy, master, ruler."

And all during the time that she bathed the baby, a pine torch stood burning. It was not extinguished. And then they there gave him a name, they there gave him his earthly name. Perhaps they would give

injc oppa cacocuj, in conjiaoa ilhvicac: qujtoa. Nimjtznotza, njmjtztatzilia: in teteu tinnan, in Ticitlallatonac, in Ticitlallicue, quenamj mjhijo: ma xicmomaqujli, ma itech ximjhijoti in maceoalli.

Injc expa conjiaoa in jlhvica: qujtoa. In axcan in jlhvica anchaneque, in amjxqujchtin in amjlhvicapipilti, in ilhvica anmonoltitoque: ca izcatquj in maceoalli, quenamj amjhijo, ma xicmomaqujlican, ma itech ximjhijotican, injc nemjz tlalticpac.

Injc nappa conijaoa in jlhvica, qujnotza, qujtztatzilia in tonatiuh: qujtoa. Tonan, tota tonatiuh, tlaltecutli: izcatquj in maceoalli, in moçaquan, in moquechol, in quauhtli, in ocelutl, movic noconjtoa, movic noconpoa, movic noconjiaoa in tehoatl in titotonametl, in tixippilli, in tiquauhtli, in tocelutl, in vel tinexeoac, in vel ticujcujlivic in toqujchtli in titia-cauh: ca maxcatzin, ca motlatqujtzin, ca motectzinco pouhquj: ca ic oiocoloc in mjtztatlitzin, in mjtztlaqualtiz, in mjtztlamacaz vmpa pouhquj in teutenpan, in tlachinoltenpan, in jxtlaoatl ijtic, inepantla.

Niman cacocuj in chimalli, in tlavitolli, in tlacochtli: qujtoa. Izcatquj in ioalli iolinca in jchioaloca in, in tevevelli, in chimalli, in tlacochtli, in pitzaoc in tlanololli in maviltioca, in moioviloca: ma xicmo-iocolili in tlein ticmoicolilia, in quenamj ijlhvil, imaceoal, inemac: cujx vel motectzinco aciz, cujx vel vmpa iaz, cujx matitiuh in muchan in avialoian, in vellamachioia: in vnpa paquj, avija, vellamati in quauhtin, in ocelo, in tiacaoan, in iaomjque in mjtz-aviltitinemj, i mjtzoiovitinemj, cujx vel intech aciz, motolinja in maceoalli: ma xiqualmocnoittili tlacatl, tlatoanj.

Auh in jxqujchcauh caltia piltzintli, ocopilli tlalticac, amo cevi: auh njman vncan qujtocamaca, vncan qujmaca in jtlalticpactoca, in aço icultzin qujtocamamaz, qujtonaleoaz:

4. Ibid.: "Señor sol, y tlaltecutli, que soys nra madre, y nro padre, veys aquí esta criatura, que es como un ave de pluma rica, que se llama çaquan, o quechul, vuestra es, y e determinado de os la ofrecer a vos señor sol, que tambien os llamays totonametl y xipilli, y quauhtli, y ocelutl y pintado como tigre de pardo, y negro, que soys valiente en la guerra..."

5. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

him the name of his grandfather; it would enhance his lot.⁶

Then the midwife addressed him, cried out to him. If [his name were] Yaotl, the midwife spoke man's talk. She said to him: "O Yaotl, O Yaotl, take thy shield, take the spear, the little shield which is for the gladness of the sun."⁷

Then she tied on [his cape], she bound on the breech clout. And the youths, the young boys, assembled, gathered together when the child had been bathed, when, it was said, the holy [ritual] had concluded. Then they took up the umbilical cord offering of the baby; they snatched it and ran; they went off eating it. They went addressing, they went shouting at the baby; thus they went shouting out that which was his name.

If [his name were] Yaotl, they went saying to him: "O Yaotl, O Yaotl, know the interior of the plains, the middle of the plains, the battlefield. O Yaotl, O Yaotl, thou wilt gladden the sun, Tlaltecuctli. Thou wilt provide him drink, thou wilt provide him offerings.⁸ Thou belongest with the eagle warriors, with the ocelot warriors, with the valiant warriors, those who died in war, who gladden, who cry out to the sun." And they came saying: "O valiant warriors, come, eat the umbilical cord offering of Yaotl."

These [young men], they said, corresponded to, represented, those who had died in war, because they robbed the umbilical cord offering of the baby. And when all was done, all which pertained to the midwife, then they brought the baby into the house. The pine torch went on burning.

vnacan ic qujnotza, ic qujtzatzilia in ticitl: intla iaotl, oqujchtlatoa in ticitl: qujlhvía: iavtle, iaule xoconcu in mochimal, xoconcu in tlacochtli, in tevevelli, in javiltloca tonatiuh:

njman qujtlalpilia, ic contzitzquja in maxtlatl. Auh in telpopuchtotonti, in oqujchpiltotonti monechicoa, mocentlalia in oonmalti piltzintli, in mjtóa onqujz teoiutl: njman qujcujteoa in jxic iven piltontli, qujmotalochtia, qujquâquativi, qujnotztivi, qujtzatzilitivi in piltontli, ic qujtzatzilitivi in tlein itoca:

intla iaule qujlhvítivi. iaule, iaule, xontlamati in jxtlaoatl ijtíc, in jxtlaoatl inepantla, in teuatenpan, in tlachinoltenpan: iaule, iaule ticaviltiz in tonatiuh, in tlaltecutli, ticatlitiz, ticlamacaz, intech tipouhquj in quauhtin, ocelo, in tiacaoan, in iaomjque in caviltia, in coiovia tonatiuh: ioan conjtotivi. Tiacaoane xioalhvian, xicxicvenquaquj in iaule:

injqe in, qujl iaoqujzque ipan povi, ipan mjxeoa: ipampa î çan qujnamoia in jxicven piltontli. Auh in oixqujch qujchiuh: in jxqujch inepoal ticitl: njman qujcalaquja in piltzintli, tlatlatiuh in ocucl.

6. *Ibid.*: "ponen nombre al niño, de alguno de sus antepasados, para que leuante la fortuna, y suerte de aquel cuyo nombre le dan..."

7. *Ibid.*: "pongo por caso, que le pone por nombre [sic] iaule: comienza luego a dar voces, y habla como varón con el niño [cf. vocative yaotl, used by males, not yaotl, used by females], y dícele desta manera iaule iaule, que quiere decir o hombre valiente rescibe toma tu rodela, toma el dardo que es poderoso para la batalla de todo el día..." The last nine words are in a different, later hand, replacing what had been cut off from the foot of the page (probably when the MS was bound). In Sahagún, Garibay ed., p. 208, the passage reads: "...el dardo, que estas son tus recreaciones, y regocijos del sol": as is more likely than the reconstruction attempted in the Florentine Codex MS.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "tu oficio es, regocijar al sol y a la tierra, y darlos de comer y beber..."



Thirty-eighth Chapter. Here are told how the girls were bathed, and what in particular was done to them, and what was done when they placed the babies in the cradle for the first time, and what the midwife said.

And the female was thus bathed: the midwife bathed her in the same way as the baby boy was bathed, as was told. Also [they made preparations] with kernels of parched maize; also the owners of the books, the soothsayers, selected the day; also [the rite was performed] in the middle of the courtyard; also, when the sun appeared a little, they bathed her in a new basin. However, behold how the bathing of the baby girl [and] the bathing of the baby boy were different. The bathing of the baby boy has been told.

And they prepared for the baby girl a little skirt, a little shift, and all the equipment of women, the little reed basket, the spinning whorl, the batten. They placed it all in the middle of the courtyard. When the baby girl was bathed, the midwife placed the water in a new basin. Then she uncovered the baby. Then she raised it as an offering in the four directions; then she lifted it up, she raised it as an offering to the heavens. Then she took the water. First she made it taste the water; then she placed water on its chest; then she poured water on the crown of its head.

The midwife proceeded addressing the baby; she proceeded saying to it: "Attain, receive thy mother Chalchiuhtli icue."

When the midwife made the baby taste the water, she said to it: "Here is thy mother, the mother of all of us, Chalchiuhtli icue. Take it, receive it; open thy mouth. Here is wherewith thou wilt endure, wherewith thou wilt continue to live on earth."

When the midwife placed the water on the chest, on the heart of the baby, she said to it: "Take it, receive it. Here is wherewith thou wilt grow, where-with thou wilt develop. [Here is] that which will

Ic cempoalli oncaxtolli omei capitulo, vncan mjtóa: in juh maltiaia cihoapipiltotonti, ioan in tlein inneixcavil, inpan muchioaia, ioan in tlein muchioaia, in jquac iancujcan qujncoçolaquajaia pipiltotonti: ioan in tlein qujtoiaia ticitl.

Auh in cihoatl ic maltiaia injc caltiaia ticitl: çan ie no ivi in maltia oqujchpiltontli, in juh omjto: çan no izqujtica, no qujtonalpepenja in amoxoa, in tlâpouhquj, no itoalnepantla, no iancujc caxtica in caltia, no iquac in achi oalmomana tonatiuh: iece izca ic patiliuhtica in jnnealtiliz in oqujchpiltontli, in cihoapiltontli: in oqujchpiltontli inealtiliz, ca omjto.

Auh in cihoapiltontli, qujcencavilia cuetontli, vipiltontli, ioan in jxqujch cioatlatqujtl, tanatontli, malacatl, tzotzopaztli, much itoalnepantla qujoalteca. In jquac maltia cioapiltontli: iancujc caxic qujteca in atl in ticitl: njman qujpepetlaoa in piltontli, njman nauhcampa qujiaoa: njman conacocuj, ilvicac conjiaoa: njman concuj in atl: achtopa conpaloltia: njman ijelpa conlalilia: njman iquanepantla contequjlia in atl,

qujnotztinemj in piltontli in ichoatl ticitl: qujlvitinemj. Ma itech ximaxiti, ma xicmocelili in monantzin in chalchiuhtli icue:

in jquac qujpaloltia atl in ticitl, in piltontli: qujlvia. Izcatquj in monantzin, in tocennan, in Chalchiuhtli icue: xicmocujli, xicmocelili, ximocamachalolti: izcatquj injc tinemjz, injc tiultinemjz tlalticpac:

in jquac ijelpa, ijollopan qujtlalilia atl, in ticitl, in piltontli: qujlvia. Xicmocujli, xicmocelili: izcatqui injc titzmolijnz, injc ticeliaz, in qujxitiz, auh in qujchipaoaz, auh in qujtzmolinaltiz in tlaçotli, in

awaken, and which will purify, and which will cause growth of that which is precious." That which is named precious, this is our heart; especially is it the liver.

And when she poured water on the crown of its head, she said to it: "Here is the coolness, the tenderness of Chalchiuhtli icue, who is eternally awake. She never considereth, never approacheth somnolence, drowsiness. May she go with thee, may she embrace thee, may she take thee in her lap, in her arms, that thou mayest continue watchfully on earth."

And as she washed it all over, its hands, its feet, she gave a talk to all. Its hands, it was said, she cleaned of thievery. Everywhere on its body, its groin, it was said, she cleaned it of vice.

She proceeded saying to it: "Wheresoever thou art which hath caused harm to my child, here is our mother Chalchiuhtli icue. Leave [the child]. Flow away. Disappear."

This her speech or her prayer she said not in a loud voice; she only continued speaking between the teeth — continued speaking barely intelligibly.

When the midwife had arranged the baby, then she wrapped it in cloth. Then she took it into the house, where the cradle had been prepared. Then she placed it, she set it there in the cradle.

The midwife addressed the cradle; she said to it: "Thou who art mother of all of us, thou who art Yoalticitl, thou who possessest cradling arms, thou who possessest a lap, the baby hath arrived. It was created above us in the place of duality, above the nine-tiered heavens, for our mother, our father Ome tecutli, Ome ciuatl have sent it on earth where it will undergo trials, where it will endure fatigue. But it is yet left with thee; thou wilt strengthen it, for thou hast arms, thou hast a lap, even though it is true that our mother, our father Yoaltecutli, Yacauitztl, Yamanyaliztl sent it."

Then she cried out as she spoke to address the cradle. She said to it: "[Thou who art] its mother, receive it! Old woman, do not do anything to the baby; be gentle to it."

Then the midwife placed the baby in the cradle. And there the parents took [the words]. When the parent placed them in the cradle she always said: "[Thou who art] its mother, receive the baby!"

motocaiotia tlaçotli: iehoatl in toiollo: oc cenca iehoatl in eltapachtli:

auh in jquac iquanepantla qujtequjlia atl: qujlhvia. Izcatquj in jtztic, in celic in Chalchiuhtlicue, in cemjac itztica: in aic qujtta, in aic itech aci in cochiztevitzoctli, in cochiziaiatli: ma motlan iauh, ma mjtzmonaoatequjli: ma icuexanco, ma imacochco mjtzmaqujli: injc titztinemjz tlalticpac.

Auh injc novian qujpapaca, in jmac, in jcxic, muchi qujtlatollotia: in jmac, qujl qujpaqujlia in jchtequjliztli: in novian itlacapan: in jquexilco, qujl qujpaqujlia in teuhitli, tlaçulli:

qujtotinemj. Canjn tica injc otimotlaloc noconetzin: izcatquj in tonan in chalchiuhtli icue, xictlacavi xatoco, xipolivi:

injn ic qujtoa itlatol, in manoço itlatlatlauhtiliz: amo naoati, çan motenpepeionjtinemj, çan popolocatinemj.

In oqujcencauh piltontli, in ticitl: njman qujtzomaqujmjloa, njman qujcalaquja: in onca omocencauh in coçulli: njman vncan conteca, vncan conaquja in coçulco:

qujnotza y coçulli in ticitl qujlvia. In titocennan, in tilooalticil in timacoché, in ticuexane: ca omecavi in piltzintli, ca oiocoloc in topan in vmeiocan, in chicunauhnepanjuhcan: ca oqujoalmjoali in tonan, in tota in vme tecutli, in vme cihoatl in tlalticpac in qujhijoviz, in qujciaviz: auh ca oc tehoatl motech oalcavi, oc tehoatl ticmotetzaviliz, ca timacoché, ca ticuexane: auh manoço nelli qujoalmjoali in tonan, in tota in looaltecutli, in iacaviztli, in iamanjaliztli:

njman tzatzi in qujtoa, injc qujnotza coçulli: qujlvia. Inantzin: ma xiquialmanjli, ilamatzin macaquen xicmuchivili in piltzintli, ma xiciamanjli:

njman ic conteca in coçulco in piltontli, in iehoatl ticitl: auh vncan qujcujque in pilhoaqué, in jquac qujncoçulteca in pilhoa, muchipa qujtoa: inantzin ma xiquialmanjli in piltzintli.

Then there was rejoicing, drinking, eating; there was drunkenness. It was called *pillauano*, and it was called *tlacoçulaquilo*.¹

Niman ic papacoa, atlioā, tlaqualo, tlaoano mjtoa:
pillaoano, ioan mjtoa tlacoçulaquilo.

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "y a esto llaman pillaoano: y sãbien le llama [sic] tlacoçulaquilo que qujere dexir, posicion o ponimjento de la criatura en la cuna." In Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, Book II, "The Ceremonies," pp. 152-53, *pillauano* in the month of Ixcalli is described.



Thirty-ninth Chapter. Here it is told how the mothers [and] the fathers promised that the boys [and] the girls would live in the *calmecac*¹ when they were already partly grown, already somewhat experienced.

And while the baby yet lay [in the cradle], those who desired [their] children, those who loved [their] children, in order, it was said, that the baby would not quickly die, declared it to be for the temple, assigned it to the temple. Where it would be assigned, either to the *calmecac* or to the *telpochcalli*, was as the mother, as the father determined.

If they assigned him to the *calmecac*, it was said they put the male in the *calmecac* to be a priest, to be a penitent, to live cleanly, to live peacefully, to live chastely, to abstain from vice and filth. If it were a female, the same was also said: she would be a priestess, she would become an older sister, she also would live chastely, she would not come in touch with vice and filth, she would live among the continent, the virgins, the so-called older sisters, who resided in the *calmecac*, who were guarded, who remained interned.²

And for the baby to be introduced into the temple when it was promised, a feast day was celebrated; drink, food were prepared.

If the baby boy or the baby girl was to belong to the *telpochcalli*, the rulers of the youths were summoned. They ate, they drank; there was the mutual giving of gifts in the spirit of friendship. [The rulers of the youths] took up the baby; they cradled it in their arms to possess it, to make it forever their possession, until it reached a marriageable age.

And to make it known that he belonged to the *telpochcalli*, the [lower] lip was pierced in order to place the lip plug there.

Ic cempoalli oncastolli onnavi capitulo, vncan mjtoa: in quenjn tenanoan, tetaoan, qujnnetoltiaia in oqujchpipiltotonti, in cioapipiltotonti: injc calmecac nemjzque, in jquac ie qualtoton, in ie achi ixtlamati.

Auh in ie onoc piltzintli: in pilnequj, in pillhaçoque: qujlmach injc amo iciuhca mjqujz piltontli, teupan qujtoa, teupan qujpoa: ijollotlama in tenan, in teta in canpa qujpoaz: aço calmecac, anoço telpuchcali.

Intla calmecac qujpoa: mjtoa: calmecac caquja in oqujchtli, tlamacazquj iez, tlamaceuhquj iez, chipaoacanemjz, iocuxcanemjz, mopixtinemjz: acan qujttaz teuhthli, tlaçulli: intla cihoatl, no iuhquj mjtoa: cioatlamacazquj iez, îpitiz: no mopixtinemjz, amo teuhthli tlaçulli itech aciz: intlan nemjz in mopixque in jchpupuchtli: in mjtoa îpioan in calmecac onoque, in mopia, in caltentoque.

Auh injc aqujlo piltontli in teupan, in jquac netoltilo: ilhvitl quiça, mocenciaoa in atl, in tlaqualli.

Intla telpuchpan poviz piltontli: in anoço cihoapiltontli: notzalo in telpuchtlatoque, atli, tlaqua: nel motlauhtia in netlacamatcapan: conana, connapalaoa in piltontli: injc conmaxcatia, cemjcac ymaxca, ixqujchca in tlapaliuhcatitih:

auh injc macho in telpuchpan povi, motexapotla, injc vncan motentetia.

1. *calmecac*: in our translation often referred to as "priests' house." Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 781, and elsewhere (*calmecac*, *calmecatl*). Various translations of the term are more or less current. Cf. also León-Portilla, *op. cit.*, Chap. 5 and pp. 378-79; Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 325. The Codex's corresponding text in Chap. 39 refers to "la casa de religion," "el monesterio," in connection with both *calmecac* and *telpochcalli*; for example, "aquella religion, o manera de viuir que se llamã [sic] telpuchcalli" (fol. 176v), and "la religion del calmecac" (*loc. cit.* and fol. 177v). Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 211-13.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "auja de biuir en castidad, y guardarse [sic] de todo deleyte carnal, y viuir con las virgines religiosas, que se llamauan las hermanas que viuã en el monesterio, que llamauan calmecac, que viuian encerradas."

And if the baby girl belonged to the *telpochcalli*, she was left in the hands of, she was entrusted to the one called the leader of the girls. When she was already partly grown, she was to live in the place of song, to serve the god to whom she was dedicated; his name was Moyocoya, and his name was Tezcatlipoca, and his name was Yaotl. This [girl in the meantime] lived only with her mother, with her father.

And if [the child] was to be dedicated to the *calmecac*, if the baby boy was to be a priest, or if the baby girl was to be a priestess, when [the child] was placed in [the *calmecac*], drink, food were also prepared. The old priests, whose names were *quaquacuilton*, were summoned; these were informed, and they informed the priest called Quetzalcoatl; because nowhere did [the latter] enter [any]one's house, for he was venerated, feared, considered as a god; he could enter only the palace, the house of the ruler. Thereupon they carried the girl to the temple; they took her in where she was assigned, where she was promised. They grasped her [hand, or] took her in their arms; they carried her into the presence of, they raised her up as an offering to the god called Quetzalcoatl, the one whom the priests served.

They said to him: "O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, here is thy vassal, the commoner. The mother, the father come bearing her, come dedicating her, come bringing her as an offering unto thee. Thou dost not mistake her, for the poor thing is thy property. Receive her. Perhaps for a little she will perform for thee here the sweeping, the cleaning, here in thy house, the house of penance, the house of weeping, the house of tears, where the daughters of noblemen remove the secrets from thy bosom, from thy lap,³ where thou art consulted, where thou art called upon, where thou art called out to in sorrow, where thy spirit, thy words are demanded. Show her mercy, receive her. Assign her to — may she be with⁴ — the penitent, the priestesses, those of cut [hair]. O master, O our lord, O lord of the near, of the nigh, incline thy heart, favor her with that which thou wilt favor her, with that with which thou wilt compensate her."

When she was already somewhat grown, they placed a marking on her, it was said; they scarified

Auh in cihoapiltontli, in telpuchpan povi: imac caoalo, qujmocujtlavia, in mjtóa: ichpuchtiachcauh, in ie qualton cujcoian nemjz: injc qujtlaiecoltiz in jtech povi teoutl, in jtoca Moioicoia, ioan itoca Tezcatlipuca, ioan itoca lautl: auh injn çan jtlan nemj in jnantzin, in jtatzin:

auh intla calmecac poviz, intla tlamacazquj iez piltontli, anoço cioapiltontli. Intla cioatlamacazquj iez: in jquac aqujlo, no mocencao in atl, in tlaqualli: notzalo in tlamacazque vetetque, in jntoca Quaquacujltin: ichoantin caqujtilo: auh ichoantin qujcaqujtia in tlamacazquj, in mjtóa Quetzalcoatl: ipampa amo canpa tepan calaquj, ca mavizio, ca tlamauhtia iuhqujnma teumacho: çanjio tecpan, tlatocan in vel calaquj: njman vnpa qujvica in piltontli in teupan, in vnpa caquja, in vnpa qujpoa, in vnpa qujnetoltia, qujoalana, qujoalnapalao: ixpan qujvica, ixpan conjiaoa in teoutl, in mjtó Quetzalcoatl, in qujtlaiecoltia tlamacazque:

qujlvia. Tlacatle, totecujoe, tloquee, naoaque: a ca izcatquj in mocujtlapiltzin, in matlapaltzin in maceoalli: movictzinco qujtqujtivitiz, qujtovitiz, qujvenchiuhtivitiz in nantli, in tatli: ca tel amo ticmotlanevilia, ca maxcatzin, motolinja: manoço xicmotelili: anoço achica njcan ochpanoaztli, tlacujcujliztli mjtzmuchivililiz, in njcan mochantzinco, in tlamaceoalizcali, in choqujzcali, in jxaiocali: in vncan moxillantzinco, mocozcatlantzinco mamaiaivi in tepilhoan, in vncan tinotzalo, in vncan titzatzililo, in vncan titlaoculnonotzalo, in vncan titlanjlilo, in mjhijo, in motlatol: manoço xicmocnelili, ma xicmotelili: ma intech xicmopovili, ma inioan povi in tlamaceuhque, in tlamacazque, in motecque. Tlacatle, totecujoe, tloquee, naoaque: ma tlacaa in moiollotzin, ma xicmopovili, in tlein ticmopoviliz, in tlein ticmocuepiliz.

Niman qujmachiotia in ie achi qualton, mjtóa qujquapaxotla, ijelpa qujtetequj: auh in oc conetontli

3. Ibid.: "donde las hijas de los nobles, meten la mano en vñas riquezas..." References in this chapter to the reception of females into the *calmecac* or the *telpochcalli* are more often explicit in the Spanish than in the Nahuatl text.

4. Read *inuan*.

her hip, they incised her chest; and when she was yet a small child, they provided her with the *yaqualli* necklace. And the female child, even though already somewhat older, they provided only with the *yaqualli* necklace. While yet the child was small, its mother [and] its father reared it — [whether a] male child [or] a female child. But when already older, then the male child entered the temple; he entered the *calmecac*, the house of penance. The female child, when already grown, also entered the *calmecac* where her older sisters remained, where they were guarded.

qujcozcatia hijaqualli. Auh in cioatl conetontli, inmanel noço ie achi vei: çanijo qujcozcatia in hijaqualli: in oc conepil qujoapaoa in jnantzin, in jtatzin, in oqujchpiltontli, in cioapiltontli. Auh in ie vei: njman calaquj in teupan in oquichpiltontli, calmecac calaquj tlamaccoalizcali. In cioapiltontli in ie qualton: no calaquj in calmecac in vncan onoque, in vncan mopia ipihoan.



Fortieth Chapter.¹ Here it is told how the mothers, the fathers, the kinsmen, the old men, the old women assembled when it was time to introduce [their children] into the *calmecac*, as had been their vow.² And they advised the boy or the girl; they informed [the child] of the vow whereby they had promised him, and of the place where they had promised him. And they told him how he was to live.

"Now our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, hath placed thee here, and thy mother, thy father are here, they from whose loins thou camest. And although thou camest from the loins of thy mother, of thy father, even before thy mother, [thy father] is the one who traineth, who reareth, who openeth the eyes, who openeth the ears; the one in whose hands, in whose mouth is the reprimanding.³

"And now grasp, hear this: when thou wert yet a tender thing, thy mother, thy father dedicated thee, presented thee as an offering to the *calmecac*. They assigned thee to the sweeping, to the cleaning for the lord, our lord Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. And now [for] this thy mother, thy father are here, to entrust thee, to raise thee up as an offering where thou belongest, where thou art a possession, where thou art property.

"Take heed, O my son, O my grandson, O hair of my head, O nail of my finger, O youngest son: thou wert given life, thou wert born on earth. The master, our lord, sent thee. And thou comest not as thou wert before; before, thou couldst not defend thyself; before, thou couldst not stretch out thy arms. Truly thy mother hath given thee strength; with thee, she hath endured fatigue, weariness; with thee,

Ic vmpoalli capitulo, vncan mjttoa: in quenjn in ic iquac qujncalaujzque in calmecac, in juh ca inetol: ic mocentlalia in tenanoan, in tetaoan, auh in teoaiulque, in vevetque, in jlamatque: ioan qujnonotzaia in oqujchpiltontli, in anoço cioapiltontli: qujcaqujtia in netolli injc qujnetoltique, ioan in canjn qujnetoltique: ioan qujlhviaia in quenjn vel nemjz.

In axcan ca njcan mjtzalmotlalia in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque: auh ca njcan oncatquj in monantzín, in motatzín, in jntechcopa otimoqujxti: auh maçonelivi in monantzín, in motatzín, in jntechcopa otimoqujxti: oc vel ic monantzín in tlacazcaltianj, in tlacaoapaoanj, in teixcoionjanj, in tenacaztlapoanj, in jmac, in jcamac ca in alcecec, in tzitzicaztli.

Auh injn axcan, xicmocujli, xicmocaqujti: ca oc tatzintli in mjtzito, in mjtzvenchiuh in monantzín, in motatzín in calmecac mjtzpouh in ochpanoaztli, in tlacujcujliztli ticmochivililiz in tlatatl, in totecujo, in topiltzin in Quetzalcoatl: auh injn axcan, ca iz oncatquj in monantzín, in motatzín: mjtzonmacaoa, mjtzonjiaoa in vnpa tipouhquj, in vnpa titlatqujtl, in vnpa taxcatl.

Tla xiccaquj nopiltze, noxviuhtze, tzontle, izticle, xocoiotle: ca otimoioliti, ca otimotlalatli in tlalticpac: ca omjtzalmjoalli in tlatatl in totecujo: auh amo ieppa tiuhqujn tioalla y, amo ieppa vel timomapatla, amo ieppa vel timaço: quemaca omjtzmotetzavili in monantzín, ca omotlan qujhijovi, omotlan qujciauh, omotlan cochiaiatcatca, oaxixpalanticatca: auh ijaiotzin injc omjtzmotetzavili: auh ic tiuhca-

1. Another translation of fols. 178r-181v of this chapter — the exhortations of the father to the son — may be found in Garibay, *Literatura*, pp. 128-31.

2. Read *innetol*.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "mas verdaderamente sō tu padre y tu madre, los que te an de criar, y enseñarte [sic], las buenas costumbres, y te an de abrir los ojos, y los oydos, para que veas y oias, ellos tienen autoridad para castigar, y para herir, y para reprehender a sus hijos que enseñan."

she hath nodded half asleep; she hath been soiled by [thy] excretions; and with her milk she hath given thee strength. But even as thou art, thou wishest to look for thyself, to move for thyself.

"Now go where thy mother, thy father have dedicated thee with paper, with incense, to the *calmecac*, the house of weeping, the house of tears, the house of sadness, where the sons of noblemen are cast, are perforated; where they bud, where they blossom; where like precious necklaces, like precious feathers they are placed, ordered by our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh; where he by whom we live showeth compassion, where he selecteth one. Thence emerge our lords, the lords, the rulers, the guardians of the city; thence emerge those who assume the reed mat, the reed seat of authority, whom our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, setteth there, selecteth there: those who are of the order of eagles, those of the order of ocelots; those in whose hands rest the eagle vessel, the eagle tube."

"And for this go, O my son, O my grandson. See to it that thou lookest not longingly to thy home, to something within thy house. And do not say something within thyself, do not say: 'My mother is there, my father is there. My neighbors, my protectors exist, flourish.'⁴ And my property is there, my possessions are there; I have drink, I have food. I came to life, I was born at the place of abundance, a place of riches."⁵ It is ended; thou goest knowing it.

"Here is what thou art to perform, here is what thou art to do: thou art to sweep, to clean, to place things in order, to arrange things; thou art to hold vigil, to pass the night [in vigil. Do] that which thou art told to do, [take] that which thou art required to take, [do] that which thou art required to do. In places not easy for running, thou art to run, thou art to proceed with agility. Be not lazy, be not slothful. Hearing it only once thou art to do [what is commanded]. When once thou art to be summoned, thou art to depart light-footed, thou art to depart running; thou art not to be summoned twice. And although not summoned, rise up, rise running, take quickly that which thou art told to take, do quickly that which thou art told to do.

tzintli y, ie quenteltzin timotlachialtiznequj, ie timoholinjznequj.

In axcan ma xoiatiuh in vnpa omjtzamapouh, in vnpa omjtzcopalpouh in monantzin, in motatzin in calmecac, in choqujzcali, in jxaiocali, in tlaoculcali, in vncan mopitza, momamali: in vncan xotla, cueponj in tepilhoan: in vncan cozcateuh, quetzalteuh, motemanilia, motevipanjlia in totecujio in tloque, naoaque: in vncan moteicnoittilia, in vncan motepepanjlia in jpalnemoa, in vncan qujça in totecujioan in tetcutin, in tlatoque, in apia, in tepepia, in vncan qujça in petlati, in jcpalti, in vncan qujnmanjlia, in vncan qujnmopepanjlia in totecujio, in tloque, naoaque, in quauhpetlatl, in ocelopetlatl ipan cate: in jnmac manj in quauhxicalli, in quauhpiatzli.

Auh injn ma xoiatiuh nopiltze, noxviuhitze: ma nen itla tiqualnacacitta in mochan, in mocalitic: auh ma itla mjtlic tiqujto, ma tiqujto: vnca nonan, vnca nota, tlaconoac, tlaquaoatoc, in noncaoan in ncaoan: auh vnca naxca, vnca notlatquj, naoa, njtlaquale, totoncapan, iamancapan nijol, njtlacat: centlamjc ticmattiu.

Izcan taiz, izcan ticchioaz: tochpanaz, titlacujcujz, chico, tlanaoac titlavicz, titlatecaz, ticochiçaz, ticnalqujxtiz in ioalli: tlein tilhviloz, tlein ticujtlanoz, tlein tichioallanoz: amo cholovaian in ticholoz, titzicujcatinemjz, amo teticapul tiiez, amo tixocopaticapol: ça ce monacaz ticchioaz: in ceppa tinotzaloz titzicujnteoaz, ticholoteoaz, amo oppa tinotzaloz: auh intlacanel tê tinotzaloz, ximoquetzteoa, xicholoteoa, tê xicujtivetzi, yn tlein ticujtlanoz, tê xicchiuh-tivetzi, in tlein tichioallano.

4. Ibid.: "tambien los que estan en los oficios militares que tienen poder de matar, y derramar sangre alli se criaron." Cf. also Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, pp. 330 (*cuauhpetlatl*), 346 (*ocelopetlatl*).

5. Possibly to be read *tlaxuauatoc*.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "donde naci: ay riquezas y mantenimjentos..." Cf. Siméon, *op. cit.*, *totoncayotl* (p. 655) and *yamancayotl* (p. 141).

"Listen, O my son, as thou goest thou goest not to be honored, to be obeyed, to be respected. Thou art only to be sad, to be humble, to live austere. But when thou art already a little strong, perhaps thy body becometh perverted, perverse. Punish thyself, humble thyself thoroughly; do not think of vice and filth, do not covet [vice and filth]. O unfortunate art thou if within thyself thou art to covet, to welcome the bad, the evil, vice and filth, for thou wilt lose thy merit, whatever thy merit, that which is thy desert. And to this exert all thy strength; cast away perversion, the distraction of the spirit.

"This is what thou art to accomplish, this is what thou art to do. Thou art to be diligent in the breaking off of [maguey] spines, in the cutting of pine boughs, in the insertion of [maguey] spines [in thy flesh], in the bathing in the streams. And do not gorge thyself with what thou eatest; be moderate; value, be fond of empty-guttedness. He who goeth hungry, famished, goeth skin and bones, he goeth not suffering much in his bones, in his body; [like] a chill and fever, rarely cometh the distraction of the spirit."

"And do not clothe thyself excessively. Let thy body chill, because verily thou goest to perform penance; for thou goest to ask [mercy] of the lord of the near, of the nigh; for thou goest to remove the secrets from the bosom, the lap of our lord. And when the fasting setteth in, when the abstaining from food occurreth, do not break it; that which is done is as all practise it. Do not take it as painful; be diligent in it. And take care [to understand] the writings, the books, the paintings. Enter with the prudent, the wise.

"O my child, O my youth, thou art no longer much of a little bird; for already thou art understanding; already thou hast discretion. Here is a word or two to the satisfaction of us who are old men, who are old women. Go taking it as thy charge; do not reject it. If thou art to laugh at it, accursed art thou. But there thou wilt be told, thou wilt be given some more,⁷ for thou goest to a school. There thou wilt examine, thou wilt compare the words of the old men. And if thou hearest something which seemeth

Xiccaquj nopiltze, injc tiauh: amo ic tiauh in timaviztitz, in titlacamachoz, in tixtililoz: çan vel motolol, momalcoch ticchioaz, timopiloz, timocnonemjtiz: auh in ie achi tioapactzintli: at mjttonja, at mamana in monacaio: ximocotona, ximozqujpilo: ma nen teuhtli, tlaçulli tiqujlnamjc, ma tiquelevi: omotlaveliltic, intla mjtic xiquelevi, xicceli in aqualli, in aiectli, in teuhtli, in tlaçulli: ca otoconmocavili in momaceoal, in quenamj momaceoal, in tlein molhujl: auh injn cenca ixqujch motlapal xicchioa: njpa xictlaça in neitonjliztli, in neamanaliztli.

Izcan taiz, izcan ticchioaz: itlan taqujz in vitztlapanaliztli, in acxoiapoztequjliztli, in nevitztlaliztli, in apantemoliztli: auh ma ica tipachiuh titlaqua: xitlaixieico, xictlaçotla, itech ximomati in cujtlaçcolpitzactli: in çaquaoatinemj, in omjçauhtinemj, amo cenca mjttonjtinemj in jomjo, in jnacaio, in mahan atonaviztli: çan quenman in jpan oallauh neamanaliztli.

Auh ma timotetequenti: ma tetzilivi in monacaio, canel noço titlamaceoato, ca ticlailanjlito in tloque, naoaque, ca ixillan, ca itozcatlan timamaiavito in totecujco: auh in jquac motlalia necujtlaçcolçaoaliztli, in jquac netenoatzaliztli muchioa: ma tiqutlaco: in quexqujch chioalo injc nemoa: ma tictecococama, itlan xaquj. Auh xicmocujtlavi in tllili, in tlapalli, in amuxtli, in tlaçujloli: intloc innaoac ximocalaquj in iolizmatque, in tlamatinj.

O nopiltze, notelpuchtze: ca aocmo cenca titototzintli, ca ie timotlachialtia, ca ie timotlacaqujtia: izcatquj in cententli, in cencamatl, in tonequjxtli in tivevetque, in tilamatque: ma xoconmotqujlitiuh, maca can tocontlatlaçaz: intla xicvetzca, omotlaveliltic: â tel quexqujchtzan vmpa tilhviloz, vmpa timacoz, ca nezcalilizcali in tiauh: â vmpa ticnepanoz, â vmpa ticnamjctiz in jntlatol vevetque: auh intla itla avmpa itztiuh ticcaquj, maço tivalvetzcaz. O notlaçopiltze, noxocoiove: maiecuel, ma xonmo-

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "los que andan flacos, y se les parecen los huesos, no desean su cuerpo, y sus huesos las cosas de la carne: y si alguna vez viene este desseo, presto pasa como una calentura de enfermedad."

8. quexqujchtzan: read quexquichtzin.

not correct, thou art not to laugh. O my precious son, O my youngest son, it is time to go. Be diligent in the sweeping, in the offering of incense."

Here is that wherewith they advised the girl when she entered the temple. The old men spoke to her briefly. Especially extended were the words of the old women, because some who spoke had been her older sisters, priestesses; also some had inhabited the *calmecac*.⁹

[The old woman] said to her: "My daughter, dove, little one, youngest one, thou hast grasped, thou hast taken the discourse of thy progenitors, those who are here. They have given thee the incomparable [words], like precious things, like bracelets, like precious green stones, resplendent like precious feathers, deep green, wide, perfect,¹⁰ which lie inert, lie folded in their bosoms, in their laps.

"And now herewith a word or two wherewith I help, I reaffirm the mothers, the fathers, the discreet, the able, [who are] the candles, the torches, the mirrors. Take heed, my daughter, my young noblewoman, the youngest one: when thou wert still a tender little thing, still tiny, there were present those from whose loins thou camest, thy father, thy mother, those of whose blood thou art, those of whose color thou art, those of whose essence thou art. Verily thou wert still a tender little thing, yet a girl, yet a baby when they declared thee, promised thee, dedicated thee unto our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh, that thou shouldst belong with the good, fine older sisters of our lord, the beautiful, the virgins, those like precious green stones, like bracelets, like precious turquoises, like precious feathers. Thou art to go there, to enter there where the older sisters [of the *calmecac*] are all together, remaining guarded as precious.

"And this [being so], as thou art already of age, put thy heart to it. Do not break, do thy best not to ruin thy vow, for no longer art thou much of a girl, for no longer art thou much of a baby, for already thou hast discretion.

"And this: thou goest not to the place of courtesans, the place of diversions, [but rather] to the house of our lord; for there the word is awaited; he is summoned, he is cried out to. It is a house of

vica: ma itlan xonmaqjti in ochpanoaztli, in tlenamactli.

Izcatquj ic qujnonotza in cioapiltontli, in jquac teupan calaquj: in vevetque, çan qualli in qujtoa: oc cenca ichoan veiaquja in jntlatol ilamatque: ipampa ca cequjntin ipihoan catca, cioatlamacazque in tlatoa, no cequjntin calmecac nenca:

qujlvia. Nochpuchtzin, cocotzin, tepetzin, xocoiotl: ca otoconmocujli, ca otoconmanjli in jmjhjotzin in motechiuhaocan in monoltitoque: ca omjtzonmomaqujlique in anemjuhuqj in tlaçotic, in maqujztic, in chalchiuhtic in cuecucioa: auh in juhuqj in quetzalli in xopaleoac, in patlaoac, in veliaque, in jnxillantzinco, in jntozcatlantzinco, in cepoatoc, in cuelpachiuhtoc.

Auh in axcan: njcan cententica, cencamatica, ic njqujnnopalevilia, ic njqujnnopatilia, in nanti, in tati, in jxeque, in nacaceque, in iolloque, in tlaviltin, in ocome, in tezcame. Tla xicmocaqujti nochpuchtzin, nocioapiltzin, xocoiotl: in oc tatzintli, in oc titepitzin: meviltiticate in jntechpa timoqujxti in motatzin, in monantzin in timezio, in tintlapallo, in timoxijo: ca oc tatzintli, ca oc ticonetzintli, oc tipiltzintli: in mjtzitoque, in mjtzneltitque, in jvic mjtzitoque in totecujto, in tloque, naoaque, in jtech tipovizquj in qualtin, iectin in jveltioatzitzinoan totecujto, in chipaoaque, in jchpupuchtin, in chalchiuhtin, in maqujztin in teuxiuhtin, in quetzalti: ca vmpa timovicaz, ca vmpa timocalaqujz: in vmpa cenqujztoque, in motlaçopixtoque in jpihoan.

Auh injn ca ie tiuhcatzintli in: ma xiciollocapavi, ma te xicxitinj, ma moiollocopa xicvelo in monetol: ca aiocmo cenca ticonetl, ca aiocmo cenca tipiltontli, ca ie timotlacaqujtia:

Auh injn: ca amo avilpan, ca amo camanalpan in tiauh: ca ichan in totecujto, ca vmpa tlatolchialo, ca vmpa notzalo, tzatzililo, ca choqujzcali, ca ixaiocali, ca tlaoculcali: ca vncan ixillantzinco, itozcatlantzinco

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "porque las que hablā aujā estado en el monasterio y āsi erā bachileras. . ."

10. Cf. Chap. 33, n. 5; Chap. 34, n. 7.

weeping, a house of tears, a house of sadness, where the secrets of our lord are taken from his bosom, from his lap; where his spirit, his words are requested, are sought; where there is penance.

"Whoever hath wept, whoever hath sorrowed, whoever hath sighed, whoever hath hung his head, whoever hath humbled himself, whoever entereth unto our lord hath benefited himself; for our lord will array him; he will grant him that he will attain that which is his desert, his merit. For our lord faileth no one.

"But whoever also belittleth one, whoever is negligent, verily of his own volition plungeth himself into the torrent, from the crag, and certainly our lord will smite him with suffering, perhaps putrefaction, perhaps blindness, perhaps paralysis. And he will live in poverty on earth, he will endure misery, rags, tatters. As his ending which he will attain on earth, he will be poverty-stricken, he will be consumed by pain.

"And [because of] this, my youngest child, my daughter, go carefully, little by little; arrive with, approach the precious noblewomen, the virgins, the beloved older sisters of our lord, those called, those named the older sisters, the penitents, the weepers, the sad ones.

"Here is what thou art to accomplish, here is what thou art to do, here is thy vow. Thou art to live in purity. Thou art not to recall—in thy heart are not to enter—within thyself thou art not to foster vice and filth; do not consider it to thyself, do not wish it, nor long for it. Thy heart is to become as a precious green stone, a precious turquoise. Thou art to exert thy heart, thy body; thou wilt forget, banish the things of the world. Thus thou gainest merit.¹¹

"Thou art to think only of, to be diligent in, to take care of the sweeping, the cleaning, and then of the drink, of the food of the lord of the near, of the nigh. Is it true that our lord is fed as a person? Is it rather only offerings? Be diligent with the grinding stone, the chocolate, the making of offerings. And be obedient; do not be summoned twice. Nobility is the good doctrine, the way of prudence, the way of reverence, the way of fear, and then the way of peace.

"Do not live like a fool; do not go panting. Let people live as they will live; do not take heed of

mamaiaooa in totecujo: vnca itlanjlilo, vnca temolilo in jhijotzin, in jlatoltzin, vnca tlamaceoalo.

Aqujn onchocac, aqujn ontlaocux, aqujn onelciuh, aqujn ontolo, aqujn onmopectecac, aqujn vel itlan onmocalaquj totecujo: ca onmocneli: ca qujmuchiviliz in totecujo, qujmotlamamaqujliz: qujttaz in tlein ilhvil, in tlein imaceoal: ca aiaq qujmonenqujxtilia in totecujo.

Auh aqujn no iê, atle ipan ontlachiaz, aqujn tlaavilmatiz: ca inomatca qujmoquechilia in atoiatl, in tepexitl: auh ca ic qujmomochiliz in totecujo, in tecoco: in at palanaliztli, in at ixpopoiotl, in at cocototztli: auh vmpa onqujçaz in talticpac, in jcnioitl timaliviz, in tzotzomatli, in tatapatli, icentlanca in qujttaz talticpac, vel vmpa onqujçaz: vel ijellelaci-tiaz.

Auh ynjn noxocoioh, nochpuchtzin: ma çan ivian, ma çan iocuxca xonmovica: ma intech xonmaxiti, ma intech xonmopachiviti in tlaçocioapipilti, in jchpupuchtin in jveltioatzitzinoan totecujo, in mjtoa, moteneoa ipitzitzinoan in tlamaceuhque, in chocanj, in tlaocoianj.

Izca in timailiz, izca in ticmuchiviliz, izcan mone-tol, tichipaoacanemjz: amo tiqujlnamqujz, amo moiollo ipan qujztinemjz, amo mjtic ticnemjtiz in teuhtli, in tlaçulli, amo ipan timoiolnonotztinemjz, amo ticnequjz, amo tiqueleviz: chalchiuhtiz, teuxiuhitiz in moiollo, ticchichiliz in moiollo, in mona-caio, tiqujlcaoz, ticpoloz injc talticpac, injc timaceoalti.

Tiqujxcaviz, itlan taqujz, ticmocujtlaviz in ochpa-oaztli, in tlaqujculiztli: auh njman ie ichoatl in jatzin, in jlaqualtzin tloque, naoaque: mach nelli motlacatlaqualtia in totecujo? a çan ventzintli? itlan xaquj in metlatl, in atl, in venchioaliztli: auh ximotetlacamachiti, maca oppa tinotzalo: ichoatl in pillotl, in velnenotzaliztli, in nezcaliliztli, in tlaima-caxiliztli, in mauhcanemjiztli: auh njman ie ichoatl in iocuxcanemjiztli:

maca xixtomaoatinemj: ma ticicatinen: ma nemoa in quenjn nemoaz: ma itla tetch tiqujtta, oc cenca

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "as de hazer fuerza a tu corazón y a tu cuerpo para oír, y hechar lexos de ti toda delectacion carnal..."

others. Pay special attention, be especially humble, incline thy body considerably, put forth all thy effort to enter unto our lord. Cry out unto him, appeal to him in sorrow.

"Take heed of what is said, my daughter, my noblewoman, my youngest one; it is not a matter of the conduct of others on earth. We ourselves are accountable for ourselves, whatsoever is done. Especially do not deviate in something; do not go crooked before our lord; do not falter in something before him.

"This is all the satisfaction which thy mothers, thy fathers, thy older sisters provide. Go in peace and calm, my little one."

tlê ticmati: cenca ximopilo, cenca ximopecteca,
ixqujch motlapal xicchioa, itlantzinco ximocalaquj
in totecujó: xicmotzatzilili, xicmotlaoculnonochili:

xiccaquj nochpuchtzin, nocioapiltzin, noxocoiouh:
amo tenenemjlilo tlalticpac, tihixcoian, titeheoan, ma
iocolilo: oc cenca tehoatl: ma itla ic ixpantzinco
titlacolo, titlaviltec in totecujó: ma itla ic ixpantzinco
timotecujnj.

Ixqujchtzin nequjxtilli conchioa, in monantzitzin-
oan, in motatzitzinoan: auh iehoantin in mopitzi-
tinoan: ma ivian ma iocuxca xonmoviviciatuh no-
centetzin



Forty-first Chapter.¹ Here are told some of the sayings called adages, which they told and [still] tell.

SERVANTS ARE SENT

This is said of one sent as a messenger who does not return from his errand, or who does not go where he has been sent.

In truth, this is said: it is told that Quetzalcoatl was ruler of Tula. They say two women were bathing in his bathing place.² When he saw them he thereupon sent some to see who were bathing. But these messengers only remained looking at the bathing women. They did not proceed to report to him. Then once again Quetzalcoatl sent forth his page, that is, his messenger, to see who were bathing. He did the same. No more did one proceed to return from his errand.

In this way began, originated, the saying, "Servants are sent."

THE KNOW-IT-ALL

This is said of one who says he knows all about what is said, what is done.

IN ALL PLACES

This is said of one who readily enters into that which is not his affair, who

Ic ompoalli ⁴ oee capitulo, vncan mjtóa: in cequj tlátlatolli, itoca adagios, in qujtoia, ioan in qujtoa.

MOXOXOLOTLITLANJ

Itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn motitlanj: in amo qujoalcuepa in jnetitlanjz, in anoço amo iauh in vnpa titlano.

In vel ic mjtóa: qujlmach quetzalcoatl, tullan tlatoanj catca: qujl vmentin cioa mahaltiaia in jnealtiaian: in oqujnoalittac: ic njman quinoalioa cequjntin qujmjtazque, in aqujque maaltia: auh in ichoantin titlanti: çã ie qujmjtzticate, in maaltia cioa: amo ma qujnonotzato. In quetzalcoatl: oc cepa çatepan conjoa in jxolouh, qujtoznequj, ititlan: in qujmjtaz aqujque in maaltia: çan no iuh quichiuh, aiocmo qujcuepato in jnetitlanjz:

ic vncan tzintic, nelhoaiooac: in mjtóa: moxoxolotitlanj.

TOMACHIZOA.

Itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn moch comomachiztia in tlein mjtóa, in tlein muchioa.

NONOVIAN.

Itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn vel oncalaquj, in amo icalaqujan: in onmaçoa, in

Capitulo. 41. de algunos de los adagios que esta gente mexicana vsaua.

MENSAJERO DEL CUERVO.

Este refran se dize del que es embiado a alguna mēsaieria o cō algun recaudo y no buelue con la respuesta. Tomo principio este refran segun se dize: porque Quetzalcoatl Rey de Tulla vio desde su casa dos mugeres que se estauan lauādo en el baño o fuente donde el se bañaua y luego embio a uno de sus corgouados para que mjrasse qujen eran las que se bañauan: y aquel no bolujo con la respuesta embio otro paxe suyo con la mjsma mensajeria y tampoco bolujo con la respuesta embio el tercero y todos ellos estauan mjrando a las mugeres que se lauauan y njnguno se acordaua de boluer con la respuesta: y daquj se començo a dezir moxoxolotitlanj qujere dezir fue no bolujo mas.

EL QUE TODO LO SABE.

Dizesse este refran: por via de mofar del que piensa que todo lo sabe y todo lo entiende y en todo habla en todo se entremete y burlan del dizen tomachizoa como si dixessen vn nño bachiler o lo que dezi. Petrus in cunctis.

ENTREMETIDO EN TODO.

Dizesse este refran: del que entra donde no deuja entrar a mjrar del que

1. Brief but recent discussions of the lore and literature represented in this and the two following chapters may be consulted in Garibay, *Historia*, Vol. I, Chap. VIII (esp. pp. 445-48), and *Panorama*, Chap. VII (esp. pp. 138, 141f.). In Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, pp. 41-50 (esp. p. 46), additional valuable comment may be found in the Introduction to Book VI; and on pp. 241-49 ("Adiciones al libro sexto") are the results of Garibay's collating of various editions of the Spanish text besides his translation from the Nahuatl of some of the riddles of Chap. 42. See also pp. 101-105 of his *Literatura*, where the section "Proverbios" has examples from Sahagún, Olmos, and Mijangos. A translation of Chaps. 41-43, by Thelma D. Sullivan, may be consulted in *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, IV (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1963), pp. 93-178. To some of the various sources of proverbs and the like of approximately contact times may be added a collection of some of the *refranes* and *metáforas* of Chaps. 41 and 43, with a few found in neither of those chapters, in the anonymous *Santoral en mexicano* (MS No. 464) in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson: "Refranes en un santoral en mexicano," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, VI (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1966), pp. 55-64.

In order to assist the reader to a fuller understanding of the material in this and the next two chapters, we arrange them trilingually. The Spanish is given with as little comment as possible; allowance should be made for the fact that it was written in the Sixteenth Century by a native Mexican amanuensis. Comparisons and verifications can be made, however, by reference to existing standard publications of the Spanish text. The one or two insertions in brackets are in today's, not the sixteenth-century, language.

2. Read *inealtitlan*.

lends a hand where it is not his task. In whatsoever is being done, he throws himself among the others to do it.

I AM YET [ONLY] HALF-ENTANGLED;
THOU ART YET [ONLY] HALF-
ENTANGLED;³ HE IS YET [ONLY]
HALF-ENTANGLED

This is said when some drunk has ill-used someone, such that he really died. But since it was a drunk who ill-used him, he is yet [only] half-entangled, because he did not now know that he had killed one. It was as if he had fallen into a net when he ill-used one. So he hoped that perhaps he might yet escape it; accordingly, just as if he had entered a net, so perhaps he might escape⁴ the net. Hence it is said, "I am yet [only] half-entangled."

THE ASTUTE ONE

This is said of one who can think out how he should seek, how he should bring to light what he requires; or who can find what is difficult in a riddle.

ON EARTH ONE MAY TOIL

This is said when sometimes we can save up some little thing; but sometimes poverty overwhelms us. Sometimes it is possible, sometimes it is impossible.

FRUIT IS BORNE ON EARTH

This is said of some leader who is cast aside, driven away because of some fault. He is like a well-ripened fruit: it then falls.

NO ONE IS THE NAVEL ON EARTH

We are to belittle no one; that is, to detest him. Although he appear detestable, he is perhaps prudent, perhaps discreet, perhaps able.

CHIPPING AWAY ON EARTH

This is said at this time: if we persevere in something, [if we] give it our care, we become able in it even if

amo imaçovaian: in tlein chioalo, tehoan qujchiuhtivetzi.

OC NOCHICOMATL. OC MOCHIMATL.
OC ICHICOMATL.

Iquac mjtóa: itla aca tlaonquj otemjcti, in tle vel omjc: auh injc tlaonquj otemjcti, oc ichicomatl: ichica ca aiocmo qujma in temjcti, in ma iuhquj matlac ovetz, injc otemjcti: ic motemachia, aço ça oc ic maqujçaz; ý ma ca çan iuhquj matlac ocalac, aço qujmatlacpa qujçaz, ic mjtóa: oc nochicomatl.

IXPETZ.

Itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn vel qujnemjlia, in quenjn vel qujtemuz, in quenjn vel qujmonextiliz in jtech monequj: anoc vel qujta in tlein ovi in çaçanjllj.

TATACAPITZ VELI IN TLALTICPAC.

Iquac mjtóa: in quenmanjan vel itlatzin tictopialia: auh in quenmanjan vel totech ôiauh in jenoitl: quenmanjan veli, quenmanjan aveli.

XOXOCOTIOAN TLALTICPAC.

Itechpa mjtóa: in aca teiacanquj, tlaçalo, totoco itla ipampa itlatlacul: in ma iuhquj xocotl vel oicucic: njman oalvetzi.

AIAC XICTLI IN TLALTICPAC.

Aiac tictoxictizque, qujtoznequj tictelchiaoazque: macivi in telchialonj neci, ace mjmatinj, açe iolizmatinj, ace mozcalianj.

CUJCUJTLAVILLI IN TLALTICPAC.

Iquac mjtóa: itla itla ça itech titopiloa, tictocujtlavia: ça vel ticmati, macivi in ovi: in juhquj quauhxmializtli,

hecha mano de lo que no es a su cargo y se entremete [*sic*] a hazer lo que los otros hazen sin ser a su cargo.

AUN AY LUGAR DE ESCAPAR DESTE
PELIGRO.

Este refran se dize: del que estado vorracho mato alguno y despues que buelue en si y ya esta presso por el homicidio dize aun no estoy enredado del todo aun puedome desenrader [*sic*] porque estaua vorracho quando mate y no supe lo lo [*sic*] que me hize: y por esto pienso de escapar desta red o deste lazo.

ES VM MERLIN.

Este adagio se dize de aquel que responde con facilidad a qualquiera cosa que le preguntan aunque sea dificultosa y tambien que tiene medios abctos para qualquiera cosa de presto.

AY DIAS MAL AFORTUNADOS.

Este refran se dize: quando no ay posibilidad de hazerse alguna cosa que otros dias se haze con facilidad.

COSTÜBRE ES EN EL MÜDO QUE VNOS
SUBEN Y OTROS DESCIËDEN.

Este refran se dize: de los que estan en alto estado y cayen del y de los que estan em baxo estado y suben a alto estado de repête: y ansi dizen floresce el müdo como el manzanjillo q se llama texocutl que tiene mançañas maduras y otras q uã madurãdo y otras q florescen a este modo dizẽ del müdo.

A NADIE MENOSPRECIOS POR VIL QUE
PAREZCA.

Este refran se dize: porque muchas vezes los que parecen viles y de menosprecio son habiles o tienen algunas virtudes dignas de precio.

LA GOTA CAUA LA PIEDRA.

Este refran se dize: de los que porfian o perseveran en salir con alguna cosa que parece que es muy dificoltoza

3. Read *mochicomatl*.

4. Read *qujçaz*.

it is difficult, like wood carving, stone sculpturing, or still other crafts, or something in the arts — song, grammar, etc. If ability is gained, it is said: "Chipping away on earth."

WORDS ARE HIS FOOD

This is said at this time: one who is a little offended at once scolds someone. Or he is reprimanded just a little. He therefore comes back at one with words, with which to abuse one. Or else when something is said he at once joins others to speak.

THE SACK DRAGGETH BELOW

This is said of one who appears on the surface like a rustic; of humble circumstances on the surface; pious, a good person. But in truth he is very perverse, very quarrelsome; a backbiter, violent. Good is what he says on the surface, but within what he says to others is evil.

ALREADY THE *nagual* COMETH FORTH; OR, THE *nagual* CAME FORTH

This is said when some take great care in making a living, in gaining a good livelihood. And some are just lazy; they just pass the time idly; they gain no livelihood. But some of these gain a very good livelihood. At this time it is said: "The *nagual* came forth."

Also it might be said when something is to be learned. Some only go about it lazily, and some ignore their sustenance. When they study they quickly can attain what is taught them. Hence it is said: "The *nagual* came forth." Hence it can be said, they say, the *nagual* means the devil.

A FOOL, VERILY A FACE OF WOOD

This is said of a shameless one, of a brazen one — one who in truth rushes into the presence of the illustrious.

WOODEN-MOUTHED

This is said of the arguer, the one who is not to be bested in talking, who is unworthy of being bested in talking.

tetzotzoncaiotl, anocitla oc centlaman-tli tultecaiutl: auh anoce itla tlamatiliztli, cujcatl, grammatica, etc: intla vel omoma: mjtóa: cujcuylavilli in tlatlcpac.

TLATOLLI ITLAQUAL.

Iquac mjtóa: in aqujn itlaton ic moiolitlacoa, çan njman teahoa: anoço çan achi ic onaio, ic vei injc qujtecuepilia tlatolli, injc teaoa: anoce iquac in jtlá mjtóa, çan njman no tehoan tlatóa.

TLANJ XICUJPILHVLAX.

Itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn panj neci iuhqujn anaotl ixijcnotzin, tlatlaczintli, qualtzin: auh tlaçao ic cenca tla-velilloc, cenca teaoanj, techicoitoanj, iollocujcujtla: qualli in qujtóa panj, auh in jtíc amo qualli in qujtóa ttecipa.

IE ONQUJZA NAOALLI: ANOÇE ONQUJZ IN NAOALLI.

Iquac mjtóa: in cequjntin cenca motlacujtla via, injc motlaiecoltia vella-ixnextia: auh in cequjntin, çan tlatzivi, maaviltia, atle qujxnnextia: auh in cequjntin vellotlaixnextique, iquac mjtóa: onqujz in naoalli.

No vel ytechpa mjtóaia: in jtlá momachtia, in cequjntin çan tlatziuh-tinemj: auh in cequjntin aintlaqualiz qujmati in momachtia, ic iciuhca vel qujmati, in tlein qujmomachtia, ic mjtóa: onqujz in naoalli: injc vel mjtóa, qujl in naoalli, qujtoznequj tlatcateculotl.

IXQUAVITL, VEL IXQUAUH.

Itechpa mjtóa: in amo pinaoanj, in amo temamatinj: in vel iativetzi imjxpan in maviztililonj.

TENQUAVITL.

Itechpa mjtóa: in tlatolchicaoc, in avel tenpanavilo, in amo tlatolpanavilonj.

asi como el que no tiene habilidad para alguno de los oficios mecanjcos y queriendole deprêder porfia y sale con el: por esto dizen la perseuerancia haze mucho.

SALTA COMO GRANJZO DE ALBARDA O ES *noli me tangere*

Este refran se dize: de aquellos que tocandolos vn poco con alguna palabra aspera, luego saltan en colera y en riñe y hechan ponçoña por la boca: y quãdo oyen hablar mal de otro luego ayudan.

LOBO EN PIEL DE OBEJA O DOBLADO QUE VNA COSA TIENE DE DENTRO, Y OTRA COSA MUESTRA DE FUERA.

Este refran se dize: de aquellos que en su manera de hablar y de mjrar y de andar son como simples y llanos, y de dentro son maliciosos y enganadores [*sic*] y aborrescedores dizen vno y hazê otro.

TIENE ALGUN TRASGO QUE LE AYUDA.

Dizesse este refran: de aquellos que no parece que hazen nada y estan ricos, tambien se dize de aquellos que trabajan poco en deprender y en comparacion de los que trabajan mucho en deprender o en ganar la vida saben mas y tienen mas.

RABOLA O CARA SIN VERGUËÇA O CARA DE PALO.

Este adagio se dize: de aquellos que no tienê empacho de hablar, nj parecer entre las personas sabias, y siendo ellos de poco saber y de baxo qujlata.

PORFIADO O QUE NO CONSIËTE SER CONTRADICHO, O BOCA DE PALO.

Este adagio se dize: de los que confian mucho de lo que dizen, y lo que los otros dizen nũca les parece biê y son porfiados.

HE GLORIETH IN CHILDISHNESS
It is said at this time: if some already grown person still persists in childishness, if one already a youth still digs holes with stones or shows great curiosity, and if one already a maiden still carries her dolls with her, still makes mud pies, this one glories in childishness.

**I PLUCK MY OWN TENDER MAIZE PLANTS;
THOU PLUCKEST THY OWN TENDER
MAIZE PLANTS**

It is said at this time: if someone whom I esteem perhaps offended me in something, I quarrel violently with him; I shame him. If I make known something of his secret doings, I shame him therewith before others; I therefore throw [his secret doings] in his face. When this is done, it is said: "I pluck my own tender maize plants."

TWICE HE EATETH HIS OFFAL

It is said of this: if one gave something to someone, perhaps something to eat, or a cape; once again he demands it, he takes it from him.

**HE KNOWETH NOTHING OF WHAT IS IN
HIS EYE [NOR] ON HIS HEAD**

It is said of one who is stupid about his body. He is tangle-haired, dirty-faced. He does not wash his head, he does not wash his face.

**HE LAYETH NOT HIS HANDS UPON
HIMSELF**

It is the same as "He knoweth nothing of what is in his eye, [nor] on his head."

INCAPABLE

It is said of the immature. Where he is sent, there he goes not at all. What he is to undertake, he does not undertake.

I GO ASTRAY, THOU GOEST ASTRAY

It is said at this time: if I study something but cannot learn it, just as if I, as a fruit tree, bore no fruit. Hence it is said: "I go astray," or "I went astray," or "I went completely astray." That is to say, I learned nothing, I produced nothing.

PIPILPAN TIMALTI.

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca ie vei tlacatl, noma pipillotl qujnemjtia, in ie tel-puchtli noma motetecomolhvia, anoço mitzpepetzinalhvia: auh in ie ichpuchtli, noma icoconeuh ietinemj, noma moçoqujtlaxcalhvia: in ichoatl in, ca pipilpan timalli.

NINOTOCVIVITLA, TIMOTOCVIVITLA.

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca njctlaçotla, aço itla ic onechiolitlaco, cenca njcaoa, njcpinauhtia: intla itla ijhtacatlachioal njcmachilia, teixpan ic njcpinauhtia, ic njqujxmota: in jquac iuh muchioa in, mjtóa: njnotocvivitla.

OPPA ICUJTL QUIQUA.

Itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn tla itla oqujtemacac, aço itla qualonj, anoço tilmatli: ie no ceppa qujtlanj, qujteculia.

AÔMATI IJXCO, ICPAC.

Itechpa mjtóa: in amo mjmati itechpa inacaio, quapopolitic, ijtzocujtlati, amo mamovia, amo mjxamja.

AOMMOMATOCA

Çan ie no ichoatl, in aommati ijxco, icpac.

AOOMPA.

Itechpa mjtóa: in amo mozcalia: in vmpa titlano, çan amo vmpa itztuih: in tlein qujcujz çam amo ie in qujcuj.

**NIQUAUHTLAMELAOA,
TIQUAUHTLAMELAOA.**

Iquac mjtóa: intla itla njnomachtia, çan avel onjcma: in maca çan njxochiqualluaviti, amo njnoxochiqualloti, ic mjtóa: njquauhtlamelaoa, anoço onjquauhtlamelauh, anoço çan onjquauhtlamelauh, qujtoznequj: atle onjcma, atle onjcnexiti.

GLORIASE O IACTASE DE LAS NJÑERIAS.

Este refran se dize: de aquellas personas que segun la edad aujendo de auer dexado las njñerias no las dexan sino siempre las lleuan adelante y antes se deleytan en ellas.

**ARRANCO MJ MJSMA SEMËTERA O LO
QUE YO SEMBRE.**

Este refran se dize: de aquellos que tienē algun amigo y por poca ofensa luego riñen y descüpadrā con el y si alguna cosa sabian de sus secretos luego la hechan en la plaça o les dan publicamente con ello ē la cara.

**COME OTRA UEZ LO QUE AUJA HECHADO
DE LA BOCA O DEL CUERPO.**

Este refran se dize: de aquel que dio algo a otro dado y despues se lo torna a pedir.

**TIENE LA VIGA EN EL OJO Y NO LA VEE
O NO VEE SUS FEALDADES Y SUZIEDADES.**

Este refran se dize: de aquel que tiene la cara suzia y no lo vee y mas propriamente del que es necio y se tiene por sabio y es pecador y se tiene por iusto.

**NO SE PALPA A SI MJSMO.
Es lo mesmo de arriba.**

**NO HAZE NJ ENTIENDE COSA A
DERECHAS.**

Este refran se dize: de vnos bobos o tontos que nj entiendē a derechas lo que los dizen nj hazen a derechas lo que les mandan.

**ARBOL SIN FRUCTO O TRABAJO
SIN PROUECHO.**

Este refran se dize: de aquellos que trabajaron por alcançar alguna cosa o por salir con alguna cosa y despues de mucho trabajo nj la alcançaron nj salieron con ella.

OLD HAND

It is said of one if he seizes either one's bracelets or one's book, or something else guarded somewhere. He seizes it from there, even though in a basket, or no matter where, there where is guarded something worthy of being guarded.

MY HAIR, THY HAIR; OR, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS MY HAIR, MY HEAD OF AMARANTH GREENS?

It is said at this time: if I have done someone a favor or taught him something for which, because of my help, he should have valued me, but it is only with his abuse, his disdain that he repays me. Of this it is said: "It is [because of] my hair," or "It is [because] my hair is on one side," "Thy hair is on one side."

I GO IN CIRCLES, THOU GOEST IN CIRCLES

It is said when I cannot speak the truth, or I am questioned about something which I should answer truthfully, but I only mix my words, I only end inconclusively. Some of it I hide, but some I tell truthfully; or else I only falsely accuse someone.

WHERE IS IT IN THY FACE?

It is said at this time: if one who hates me, who accuses me so that I may be tormented, so that I may be persecuted somewhere in the city, but it cannot be done, I cannot be so tormented nor can I be persecuted, for that reason I say to my tormentor: "Where is it in thy face?"

WHERE IS MY NOSE?

WHERE IS THY NOSE?

It is said at this time: if someone has abused me, I should have abused him, but he has fled from my presence. Although he has gone somewhere, I shall abuse him when he will appear. Hence it is said: "Where is my nose?"

OUR SHIN

It is said of one who boasts of his bravery, one who says: "I am a brave

MAÇOL

Itechpa mjtóa: intla tlacujtivetzi, aço temacuex, aço teamauh, anoço itla oc centlamantli cana mopia, vmpa concujtivetzi, intlanel tanaco, intlanel noço canjn: in vmpa mopia in itla pialonj.

NOTZOTZON, MOTZOTZON, ANOÇO CUX NO CUELE NOTZOTZON IN NOVAUHTZON.

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca itla ic onjqujneli, anoço itla onjcmachtli: in jpampa in, notepaleviliz, ic nechtlaçotlazquja: auh câ ie itetolinjliztica, ytetelchializtica nechtlaçuepcaiotilia, ic mjtóa: notzotzon, anoço ie ne notzotzon, ie ne motzotzon.

NITLACOCOLOA, TITLACOCOLOA.

Iquac mjtóa: in amo vel melaoac njqujtoa notlatol, in anoço itla ic njtlanjlo, in melaoac ic njtlananjilzquja: auh ie çan njquixnelo in notlatol, çan campa nocontlatlamja: cequj njctlatia, auh cequj melaoac in njqujtoa: anoce çan aca itech nocontlamja.

CAMPA MJXCO.

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca nechcocolia, nechteixpavia in ma njtolinjlo, in ma cana altepetl ipan njtotoco: çan amo vel muchioa, amo tle vel ic njtolinjlo, amo no njtotoco: ic noconjlhvia in notecocolicauh: campa mjxco.

CAN NOIACAUH,

CAN MOIACAUH.

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca onechtolinj, ono njctolinjzquja: çan njxpampa oieoac: inmanel canpa oia, ca njctolinjz in jquac neciz: ic mjtóa. Can noiacauih.

TOTLANJTZ.

Itechpa mjtóa: in mohoqujchitóa aca, in qujtoa: ca njtiacauih, ca njtla-

ARREBATADOR O ARAÑADOR.

Este refran se dize: de aquellos que qualquiera cosa que veen en las manos de los otros se la arrebatan o toman lo que esta guardado aunque este a buen recaudo.

MI GOZO EN EL POZO DONDE ESPERAUA AGRADEZIMJENTO ME VINO CONFUSION.

Este refran se dize: quando alguno haze bien a otro y el que rescibio el beneficio responde con desagradecimiento entonces se dize mjs cabellos cubrieron mj cara.

HABLAR POR RODEOS.

Este refran se dize: quando alguno no queriendo dezir la verdad habla por rodeos para que no se entienda lo que qujere encubrir y satisfaga al que le pregûta sin dezir verdad.

CON QUE CARA ME MJRAS.

Este refran se dize: de aquel que qujso dañar a otro y no pudo y despues de descubierto su atreujmiento el que le entendio dizele donde esta tu cara como si dicesse con que ojos me mjrás desvergonçado?

EL ME LO PAGARA.

Este refran se dize: del que hizo alguna afrenta a otro y se huyo el afrontado dize Can noyacauih q'ere dezir no se me escapara que no me la pague.

NĒA ESPINJLLA O EL REMEDIO DE

NĒA AFLICTION.

Este refran se dize: por uja de mofa de aquel que se alaua falsamente de

warrior, a taker of captives, experienced in war," but perhaps he is not a brave warrior, perhaps he is not experienced anywhere. And perhaps his body is just scarred somewhere. He shows it to others; he says: "This is because they wounded me in battle." Hence it is then said: "Our shin." Likewise we say: "I shin myself, thou shinest thyself."

HE HATH BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE FOUR HUNDRED

It is said of one who knows many things — books, painting, or some profession such as the casting of copper, the carving of wood, the casting of gold: all of this he knows well. Hence it is said of him: "He hath been able to achieve four hundred."

IT IS REALLY MY ARROW; IT IS REALLY THY ARROW

It is said of something which I guard for myself, which is really my property, really something mine which by my own toil, my own efforts I have produced, which I have not just picked up somewhere nor stolen.

Also it could be understood in days of old to refer to him who took a captive in war. Then came a second, who seized one of his arms, or his leg. Then still a third also seized one of his arms, or his leg. Then a fourth also seized one of his arms, or his leg. These, the captor and the ones who had captured with others' help, said: "It was really my arrow." But if later someone else were to come, if he were to take an arm or a leg when [the captive] had already been taken, it was said: "It was not really his arrow."

MISERY IS COMPLETE

It is said at this time: if after much time I amassed something through my own work, and someone just stole it, or somewhere along the road I let it fall into the hands of others.

I COME AGAINST A STONE

It is said at this time: if I were asking for something of some ruler or someone worthy of honor because thereby he would help me, but he only was

manj, ca iaoe njmatinj: auh acacemo tiacauh, acaço can onmati: auh aço ça cana titiqujltic in jnacaio: qujteittitia, qujtoa. Injn, ca iaoe ic nechvitecque: ic vncan mjtoa: totlanjtz: no ioan tiqujtoa. Ninodlanjztia, timotlanjztia.

CENTZON, VEL ACIC.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aca mjiec tlamantli quimati, amatl, tlacujloli, anoço itla netlaiccoltiliztli: in juhquj tepuzpitz-caiotl, quauhxciaiotl, teocujtlapitzcaiotl, much vel qujmati: ic mjtoa itechpa. Centzon, vel acic.

VEL NÔMJUH, VEL MÔMJUH.

Itechpa mjtoa: in tlein njcnopialia, in vel naxca, in vel noiocauh, in nociaviliztica, notlatequjpanoliztica onjcnnextili, in amo çan cana onjccujc, anoço onjqujchtec.

No vel itech mocaquja in ie vecauh: in aqujn tlamaia iaoe: njman oallauh in concaiotia, cana ce ima, anoço icxi: njman oc ce tlaiecaiotia, ce no cana ima, anoço ijcx: njman tlanauhcaiotia, no ce cana ima, anoço ijcx: in ichoatl in, tlamanj, ioan in tepallama: qujtoa. Vel nomjuh: auh intla aca çatepan oallaz, intla canaz ce maitl, anoço icxitl in ie oaxioac: mjtoa. Amo vel iomjuh.

ICNOPILLOTL OMMOMELAUH.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla vecauhtica onjcnjxnnextili: auh ne aca, ça qujoal-ichtequj: anoço cana temac njtlaça otlica.

TETITECH NONEOA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca tlatoanj, anoço aca maviztililonj njcnotlatlauhtilia, itla ipampa, injc nechpaleviz: auh çâ ie ic qualanj, çan itlavelpan nonvetzi: aço ie

auer hecho algunas valentias y es como dezir blasona del arnes este fanfarron.

TODO LO SABE.

Este refran se dize, por via de mofa de aquel que se iacta de que sabe muchas cosas ya estado muchos lugares y ya [sic] visto muchos acayecimientos y ya [sic] visto muchos acayecimientos y ansi dizesse deste Centzon vel acic: y mill cosas sabe y e [sic] mill cosas se a visto.

POR MÍ LANÇA LO GANE.

Este refran dize: el que gano o merecio alguna cosa muy bien ganada y muy bien merecida y otro le contradize o se la qujere tomar dize en su defension nomjuh como si dicesse es mj sudor y mj trabajo.

NO PUEDE SER PEOR O NO PUEDEN SER LAS ALAS MAS NEGRAS QUE EL CUERO.

Este adagio se dize: de aquel que echo su caudal todo en alguna mercaderia y se le perdio todo en la mar o de otra manera para encarecer su perdida dize ycnopillotl ômmomelauh: el mal a venjdo todo iunto.

I VA POR LANA Y PORUJ [VOLVÍ] TRASQUJLADO Y TROPEÇE EN LA PIEDRA.

Este refran se dize del que yua a negociar alguna merced con alguna persona de manera, y cayo en su desgria y no recauo nada.

angered by it, I fell into his fury, or he also chid me there; it would be as if I came against, I beat myself against a stone.

I FLY INTO THE FIRE LIKE A MOTH
It is said at this time: if someone is to wrangle with another, to go about very furious with others, much angered, in order to abuse others, to wrangle with others; but only he himself is abused, is shamed. It is as if he fell into the fire. The fire moth comes up to it thinking that perhaps the fire does not kill one. When it has gone to fall into the fire, it at once dies there. Just so is one who is to wrangle with one. Perhaps he goes to fall into the hands of others, or he will be put to death there.

ASH-FACE

It is said of one who perhaps has done something, who perhaps has committed something. Perhaps it is a carnal life, a theft, when he thinks no one knows his secret faults, but his secret faults are already known. What is to his shame has been made public. Hence it is said: "Ash-face."

SCATTERER OF FRIENDS

It is said of one who is purely bad, who hates people, who only wrangles with them. If somewhere there is a gathering together, he sits there among them. They leave one by one; they quickly leave him. They fear that he might wrangle with them. Hence it is said: "Scatterer of friends."

IT WAS IN VAIN

It is said at this time: if I wished in my heart for something but it could not be achieved; if I studied [something] but could not understand it. Hence it is said. "It was in vain," or "It was not in vain."

THERE HE COMETH TO HIS END ON EARTH

It is said when we are very poor, when with difficulty there appears what we require—the little cape, the little food. So may it be understood of one who is poor, who undergoes great trials, whose rags are much worn, much tattered. When he clothes himself, they are almost used up; they are about to

vmpa no nechaoa, iuhqujnma tetitech noneoa, nonnovitequj.

NOTLEPAPALOCHEIHTIUH.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca teaoaz, cencac motlaveltitiuh, cenca qualantiuh injc tetolinjz, injc teaoaz: auh ça ie vncan tolinjlo, pinauhtilo: iuhqujn tleco onvetzi. Itech oalqujça in tlepapalotl: in momatia acaçomo temjcti in tletl: in jquac ovetzito tleco: njman vncan ommjquj, çan no iuhquj in aqujn tea-oaz: aço ie vmpa temac, vetzitiuh, aço mjctiloç vmpa.

IXNEX.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aço itla oax, aço itla oqujchiuh, aço avilnemjliztli, ichte-qujliztli: in momati aiac qujmachilia: auh ça ie omachililoc, otepan cenman in tlein ipinaviz: ic mjtoa itechpa yxnex.

ICNJUHMOIACTLI.

Itechpa mjtoa: in aqujn çan tlatlaue-liloc, in aijel teitta, in çan teaoa: intla cana necentlalilo in vncan teoan motlalia, can ipan tlacacaoalti, qujcauhtiqujça, qujmacaci in ma teaoa: ic mjtoa icnijuhmoiactli.

ONEN ONCATCA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla oqujnequja noiollo, çan amo vel omuchiuh: intla onjnomachtiaia, çan avel onjcma: ic mjtoa: onen oncatca, anoço a onen oncatca.

VMPA ONQUJÇAN TLALTICPAC.

Iquac mjtoa: in cenca ie titotolinia, in aiaxcan neci totech monequj, in tilmatzintli, in tlaqualtzintli: injc vel caqujzti in motolinja, in cenca tlaihiçouja, in jtzotzomatzin cenca oiçoliuh, cenca ie tzatzaianj, in qujmoquentia ça achi injc tlatlantica ie oalcocotonjz, ie vmpa onqujçaznequj in jnacaio: injc

PENSE DE GANAR ALGO Y PERDI LO QUE LLEUAUA ACONTECIOME COMO A LA MARIPOSA QUE DE NOCHE SE LLEGA A LA CANDELA POR AMOR DE LA LUZ QUE LA DELEYTA QUEMASE EN ELLA

Este refran se dize de aquel que sin consideracion acomete algũ negocio arduo para salir con el y no salio con el sino antes quando cum perdida de honrra o de hacienda o de salud.

SABEN TODOS Y IGNORALO EL O CARA DE CENZADO.

Este refran se dize: de aquel que hizo algun mal y piensa que nadie lo sabe y es verdad que lo saben muchos y todos los que con el conuersan y el piẽsa que esta secreto por esso dize cara de cenja.

DERRAMA SOLACES DESBARATADOR DE AMJGOS O DE AMJSTAD.

Este refran se dize: de aquel que es malqujsto por su mala condicion, y quando entra donde estan muchos en algun regocijo en entrando el, todos se salen vnos por oaca [acá] otros por alla y por esso dizen del ya ujno el derrama solaces.

TRABAJO SIN FRUCTO.

Esto se dize: de aquel que trabajo por ser letrado o por ser rico o por ser honrrado y despues de auer trabajado no salio con nada o cõ poco dizen del onen oncatca em balde trabajo.

E VENJDO A ESTREMADA POBREÇA O ESTOY EN ESTRAMADA POBREÇA.

Dizesse este refran: del que nj tiene que comer nj que se vestir nj en que dormjr y por esso dizen del ompa onqujça talticpac, no tiene tras que parar.

fall apart; his body is about to show through there. So began there the saying: "There he cometh to his end on earth," or "He liveth coming to his end on earth."

HE BOASTETH OF HIS ABILITIES

It is said of one who boasts of something which he has — perhaps wealth or wisdom. He goes about saying: "I am one who aboundeth in wealth; for here is my property, my goods." Or he says: "I am a wise one," etc.

DOETH THE HUMMINGBIRD FIND EVERYTHING?

It is said at this time: if we distribute among ourselves a small tortilla or a little of something to eat, and if someone says: "Ye have given me but little," then he is answered: "Doth the hummingbird find everything?" For the hummingbird's beak is very small. When it sucks the little blossom, the nectar which it sucks is also very little.

DRAWING TALKER

It is said of one unwilling to speak, who cannot answer at length when he is addressed.

SWALLOW-MOUTH

It is said of one who is a great talker, a great chatterer.

DOETH THE COYOTE PERCHANCE TRAVEL WITH HIS OWN FIRE?

It is said at this time: if we quickly gobble something not very well cooked when we are very hungry, it is like what the coyote does when he chews up quite green maize. Just so does it happen when one is starved; even if the tortilla or the meat is not very well cooked, one bolts it down as it is. And if one would argue about it or try to shame one, it is therefore then said: "Doth the coyote perchance travel with his own fire?"

AM I ALSO PERCHANCE A USELESS, WITHERED EAR OF MAIZE?

It is said at this time: if one not of means, also if a captain invites one to

vncan peuh in mjtóa. Ie vmpa onqujça in tlalticpac, anoço onqujztinernj in tlalticpac.

MOCICINOA.

Itechpa mjtóa: in mochachamaoa itla itechpa, aço necujltonolli, anoço tlamatiliztli: qujtotinemj, Ca njnocujltonoan-j, ca vnca naxca, notlatquj: anoçe qujtoa. Nitlamatinj. etc

CUJX IXQUJCH QUJTTA IN VITZITZILTZIN.

Iquac mjtóa: intla ce tlaxcalli, anoço itla qualonj tictomamaca tepitzitzin: auh intla aca qujtoa: çan tepiton in oannechmacaque: njman ic onmonanqujlia. Cujx ixqujch qujttá in vitzitiziltzin. Ca in vitzitiziltzin cenca çan pitzaton in jten: in jquac qujchichina tepiton xuchitl, cenca çan no achiton, in conchichina necutli.

TLATOLVILAX.

Itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn aiiellatóa, in amo cenca vellananqujlia, in jquac notzalo.

TENCUCUJTZCA.

Itechpa mjtóa: in cenca tlatlatóan-j, in cenca tlatole.

CUJX ITLEUH IETINEMJ IN COIOTL.

Iquac mjtóa: intla itla aiamo cenca vel icucic, tiqujciuhcaquativetzi, in jquac cenca ie tonteuicivi: in juh qujchíoa coiötl in çan xoxouhquj qujtetexoa elötl: ca no iuh muchíoa, in jquac aca cenca ie onapizmjqij: intlanel aiamo cenca vel icuci tlaxcalli, anoço nactl, iuhquj qujquativetzi: auh intla aca ic tlatlatzoviz, anoço ic tepinauhtiznequjz: ic mjtóa iquac. Cujx itleuh ietinernj in coiötl.

CUJX NO NEN NJPATZACTZINTLI.

Iquac mjtóa: in amo qualli ynemjliz intla no teachcauh tecoanotza, anoço

GRAN BALADRON.

Este refran se dize, del que se alarga mucho en dezir bien de si o de sus cosas.

MALCONTENTADIZO.

Este refran se dize: de aquel que no se contenta con lo que le dan o con lo que le cupo sino que murmura porque no le dieron mas a este se le responde por cierto con mucho menos que esso se conteta el paxarito zinzon dizesse por uja de mofa.

LARGO EN HABLAR.

Dizesse este refran: a contrario senso del que apenas le pueden sacar vna palabra quãdo es menester por ser corto en hablar y encerrado dizenle largo en palabras y qujere dezir es corto en palabras demasiadamete.

BOCA DE GOLÖDRINO.

Este refran se dize del que es muy hablador o parlero dizen que tiene boca de golondrino.

EL LOBO O ÇORRO NO TRAE CONSIGO EL FUEGO PARA COZER O ASAR LO QUE A DE COMER.

Este refran se dize: de los que por no esperar a que se cueza o ase la gujanda la comen medio cruda por succorrer a su hambre y si alguno los reprehende porque comen la carne medio cruda para escusar su bestialidad dizen Cujx ytleuh ietinernj coiötl mas cruda la comen los coyotes.

POR UENTURA YO SOLO SOY DESMEDRADO Y PARA POCO.

Este refran se dize: quando alguno qujere hazer algũ cübite profano y

a banquet, or gives him something, and likewise I wish to do the same, to invite him to a banquet or to give him something, then it is said: "Am I also perchance a withered ear of maize?" or, "Am I also a useless, withered ear of maize?"

THROUGH HIM I EXTEND MY FAME
It is said at this time: if someone has trained well, reared well, his child, his youth, or his daughter, or merely his student, and [the child] is thus praised on account of his rearing, and also the parent or the teacher are well praised on this account, therefore it is said of one: "Through him I extend my fame"; "I extend one's fame"; "We extend one's fame," etc.

MY TASK IS TO GUARD TURKEYS. SHALL
I PECK AT THOSE WHO PECK AT ONE
ANOTHER?

It is said concerning this: The turkeys, when they preen, constantly peck at one another. The turkey guardian does not bring it about that turkeys constantly peck at one another, for they simply fight among themselves as they constantly peck at each other. Hence it may well be said when common folk contend, when they fight among themselves over perhaps their lands, their houses, or something. The leaders do not stir them up; the commoners purely of their own accord contend among themselves, fight among themselves.

WHAT'S THE USE? SINCE WE ARE FORCED
TO SAY: "WHAT'S THE USE," WILL HE
NOT ALSO SAY: "WHAT'S THE USE?"

It is said at this time: if something is taken from me, or I lose it myself; it appears nowhere. Then I take courage by saying: "What's the use? Since we are forced to say: 'What's the use,' will he not also say: 'What's the use?'"

THE MOUSELET MAY HAVE DRUNK IT

It is said at this time: if we began something but the same was interrupted; such as when some were playing the ball game but the same was interrupted; they could not finish. Then at that time they say: "The mouselet may have drunk it."

itla quitemaca: auh no iuh njechioaz-
nequj njtecoanotzaz, anoço itla njte-
macaz: ic mjtóa. Cujx no njpatzac-
tzingtli, anoço. Cujx no nen njpatzac-
tzingtli

IPAL NONJXPATLAA.

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca ipiltzin itel-
puch, anoço ichpuch, anoço çan itlaoa-
paoal, vel oqujoapauh, vel oqujzcalti:
auh ie ic iecteneoalo in jpampa in jnez-
caliliz: auh ie no ic iecteneoalo in pil-
hoa, manoço in teoapaoanj: ic itechpa
mjtóa. Ipal nonjxpatlaoa. Niteixpatlaoa.
Titeixpatlaoa. etc.

TEQUJTL NJTOTOLPIXQUJ: CUJX
NJQUJNCHOPINJ, MOCHOPINJQUE.

Intechpa mjtóa: in totolti in jquac
moxima mochochopinja: ca in totolpix-
quj, amo qujchioa, injc mochochopinja
totolme: ca çan monetechvia in mo-
chochopinja. Ic no vel intechpa mjtóa
in maceoalti in mochalania, in momj-
tia, anoce intlal, incal, aço itla ipampa:
amo ichoantin techalanja in teiacanque
ca çan ichoantin monomavia in mocha-
lanja in maceoalti, in momjtia.

QUENNEL, TLA NEL TOCONILHVITI IN
QUENNEL: AMO ÇAN NO
QUJOALITIZ: QUENNEL.

Iquac mjtóa: intla itla onjcujioloc,
anoço onjcnopolhu, acan tle neci: ic
njoalnellaquaoa in njqujtoa. Quennel,
tla nel toconilhviti in quennel: amo
çan no qujoalitoz: quennel:

MA QUJMICHPILOCONATLIC.

Iquac mjtóa: intla itla oticpeoaltica,
auh ça no onjtlacauh. In juhquj iquac
acame moquauhtelolomomotla: auh
çan onjtlacauh, amo vel omotlanque:
ic yquac qujtoa. Ma qujmichpil ocon-
atlic.

sütuooso y mas largo de lo que puede
según su valer y si alguno le dize que
escude los términos de la razón para
escusar su profanidad dize: cujx no nen
njpatzactzingtli: solo soy yo mēguado y
escaso?

POR EL SE ME ENSANCHIA LA CARA O POR
EL SE AUGMENTA MI HONRRA Y

MI FAMA.

Este refran dize: el que a criado a
alguno en buenas costumbres y despues
que sale de su casa es loado de la buena
criança el que le crio dize ypal nonjs-
patlaoa la buena vida del discipulo es
honrra del maestro.

NO ESS [sic] A MI CARGO ESSO O NO
TENGO YO CULPA DESSO SOLAMENTE
SOY COMO GUARDA DE GALLINAS.

Este refran dize: el que tiene cargo
de regir algun pueblo o republica en la
qual algunos riñen o se le rebueluen y
si alguno le nota de negligente para
escusar su negligencia dize yo no soy
mas de guarda de gallinas y si se pican
ellas las vnas a las otras no tengo yo
cargo de despartillas.

YA ES ECHO GUARDEOS DIOS DE YA
ES ECHO.

Este refran se dize: quando a acon-
tescido algun mal recado q̄ no se puede
remediar dizen los vnos a los otros
guardeos dios de hecho es.

SIQUJERA LO BEUAN LOS RATONES O NO
VINO A EFECTO LO QUE SE PRETEDIA
O LO QUE SE PROMETIO NO SE DIO.

Este adagio se dize: quando los que
juegan por ser impedidos de alguno no
concluyeron el iuego o quando alguno
prometio algo y no lo cumplio dizen
beujoselo el raton.

AM I PERCHANCE AN EAR OF GREEN
MAIZE THAT HE WILL BREAK OPEN
MY ENTRAILS?

It is said at this time: if someone in dire straits had stolen, had committed adultery, had taken a paramour, or had done something else wrong, and then this one said to me: "This thou hast witnessed; tell no one." And thereupon I answer him: "Am I perchance an ear of green maize that one will break open my entrails?"

HUMBLE LIKE A TURTLEDOVE

It is said of one who is only poor, who has not much to enjoy, who husbands his very few possessions.

I HAVE YET A DAY; THOU HAST YET A DAY

It is said at this time: if a wild beast might have eaten me, or I came upon a poisonous serpent which might well have bitten me, I quickly fled. Or a bull might have gored me. But having fled, I thus freed myself of the danger: because, if I had not done these various things I would have died; yet I shall perchance live some few days. Hence it is said: "I have yet a day."

How is this? LOOK WELL TO THYSELF,
THOU FISH OF GOLD

It is said at this time: if one some time ago lived a good life [and] later fell into some [evil] — perhaps he took a paramour, or he knocked someone down so that he took sick or indeed died; and for that he was thrust into jail: hence at that time it is said: "How is this? Look well to thyself, thou fish of gold."

THE EARTH IS SLIPPERY

It is the same as the one mentioned. Perhaps at one time one was of good life; later he fell into some wrong, as if he had slipped in the mud.

IT CANNOT YET HATCH FROM HIS HEAD

It is said of one who does not accomplish a task; nothing comes of it. Perhaps he studies a song but cannot master it. A little later he studies Latin; neither can he master it. A little later on he studies the Castilian tongue;

CUJX NJXILOTL NECHITITZAIANAZ.

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca ivivi onjcan oichtec, otetlaxin, anoçe omomecati, anoçe itla oc centlamantli tlatlaculli oqujchiuh: auh njman ie ic aca nechilhvía. Injn otiqujtac: ma aca tiqujlhvi: auh njman ie ic noconnanqujlia. Cujx njxilol, nechititzaiánaz.

ICNOCOCOTZIN.

Itechpa mjtóa: in çan motolinja, in amo cenca mocujltonoa, in çan quexqujchtzin qujmopialia iaxca.

OC NOCETONAL,
OC MOCETONAL.

Iquac mjtóa: intla tequanj onechquazquja, anoçe tequanj coatl ipan onjcholo, ça achi in onechalquazquja, onjnotlalotivet, anoçe toro onechquaquavizquja: auh oixpampa neoac, ic onjnomaqujxti: ichica, intlacamo onjchioan in jzqujtlamantli: ca onjmjqujzquja, açoc quezqujlvtizintli nonnemjz: ic mjtóa. Oc nocetonal.

QUEN VEL XIMJMATIA IN
TITEOCUJTLAMJCHIN.

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca qujnicoa vel monemjtia, çatepan itla ipan vetzi: aço omomecati, anoçe aca oqujtópeuh: ic ococolizcujc, anoçe vel omjc: auh ic teipiloian otlaliloc: ic iquac mjtóa. Quen vel ximjmatia titeocujtlamjchin.

TLAALAUJ, TLAPETZCAUJ IN TLALTICPAC.

Çan ie no iuhquj in omjto: aço qujn jzqujnpa qualli inemjliz: çatepan itla ipan vetzi tlatlaculli, in ma iuhquj omalauh çoqujtitlan.

AIEMO QUATLATLATZTZA.

Itechpa mjtóa: in amo çan centlamantli qujmotequjtia, çan amo tle nelti: aço qujmomachtia cujcatl, çan avel qujchioa: ie ne qujmomachtia latin, ano vel qujchioa: ie ne castillan tlatolli qujmomachtia, amo no vel qujmati. In

SOY COMO MAÇORCA DE MAHYZ QUE ME
AN DE ABRIR LA BARRIGA PARA COMER
LO QUE ESTA DENTRO: O AMMELO
DE SACAR DEL QUAYO?

Dize este refran: el que a rescebido algun secreto y quando le encarga que no lo diga a nadie el que se le dixo respondiendó que estara secreto dize Cujx njxilol nechititzaiánaz qujere dezir que nadie se lo sacara nj por bien nj por mal.

HUMJLDE COMO VNA TORTOLICA QUE
NJ TIENE NJ DEUE.

Este refran se dize: del que tiene poco y esta contento con ello y esta en paz con todos.

AUN QUJERE DIOS QUE VIUA MAS.

Este refran dize: el que escapo de algun peligro de muerte y gozandose de auer escapado dize, oc no cetonal, aun tiene dios por bien que viua mas.

O PEZ O PECEZICO DE ORO MJRA FOR TI
QUJEN SE PODRA GUARDAR DE TÁTOS
LAZOS Y REDES COMO AY EN ESTE MÚDO.

Este refran se dize: quando alguno que es bueno cayo en algun peccado publico por donde perdio la honrra y el buen nōbre que tenja: la otra gente hablādo del dizen quē vel ximjmati in titeocujtlamjchin mjre cada vno por si que ay muchos resbaladeros y caydas en este mundo.

Es lo mjsmo que arriba se ya [sic] dho que apenas ay qujen se pueda escapar de cayer en algun peccado.

CON NJNGUNA COSA SALE DE
QUĀTAS COMJENÇA.

Este refran se dize: del que comjença a deprender algun officio o sciencia y luego le dexa y pasa a otro y con njnguno sale: por esto dizen del ayamo quatlatlatztza: como si dicesse en nada asienta.

neither can he master it. Of him who does this it can be said: "It cannot yet hatch from his head."

NO ONE CONCERNETH HIMSELF FOR A PERSON TEN TIMES

It is said at this time: if someone has a task, something by which he gives help, he is supplicated, he is entreated. He says: "O that I may abandon my task." When he does this, he thinks that because of it he will be greatly esteemed, greatly honored. But he only gives offense thereby, whereupon he is released. But when he has been released, then still another is set in his place and performs his task even better; he who later offered himself did it with even better care. Hence it is then said: "No one concerneth himself in his behalf."

THANKS TO ANOTHER, I SCAVENGE

It is said at this time: If I have nothing to eat, and thanks to some friend of mine I eat a little of his food, perhaps someone asks how it is that I eat, and I then answer him: "Thanks to another, I scavenge."

WHEN THE SUN RISETH, IT IS NOT WARM;
LATER, AS IT TRAVELETH, IT IS
ALREADY WARM

It is said of those who marry. For they are still very poor when they begin their life. Later, when they have continued a little, they are already content. Perhaps they already lay aside some little thing.

WHENCE DO WE COME?

It is said at this time: if someone uses us very badly or tries to kill us — not our enemies, only our friends — then it is replied: "Whence do we come?"

HOW IS ONE SEEN?

It is said at this time: if one is much esteemed, honored, obeyed, someone says: "Why do they much esteem him?" Thereupon it is replied: "How is one seen?"

aqujn iuh qujchioa y, vel itechpa mjtoa.
Aiemo quatlatlatztza.

AIAC MATLACPA TECA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca itla iteqjuh, itla ic tlapalevia mocujcujlia, monenequj: qujtoa. Ma njccaoa y notequjuh: in jquac iuh qujchioa in, in momati aco cenca ic tlaçotaloz, maviztililoz: auh çan ic tlaiolitlacoa: njman ic caoaltilo. Auh in oqujcauh: njman oc ce qujmxiptlaia: auh oc ie cenca vel qujchioa in jtequjuh, oc cenca ie vel motlacujtlavia in qujn omjxquetz: ic mjtoa iquac. Aiaca.

TEPAL NJTZOPILOTI.

Iquac mjtoa: intlacatle in njcquaz: auh aco aca nocnuh, achitzin ipal onjqua itlaqual: aco aca nechtlatlanja, in cujx onjlaqua: auh ie ic noconnanqujlia. Tepaltzinco onjtzopilot.

IN OALQUJÇA TONATIUH AMO TOTONQUJ:
QUJN JQUAC IJEIZ IETIUH IE TOTONQUJ.

Itchpa mjtoa: in qujn ommonamjctia: ca oc cenca motolinja, injc conpeoaltia in jnnemjiz: qujn jquac in ie achi qujtoca ie moiollalia: aco ie itlatzin ie qujmopialia.

CAN MACHPA TIVITZE.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca cenca techtolinja, anoço, techmjctiznequj, amo ma tijoavan, çan tecnjuh: ic onmonanqujlia. Can machpa tivitze.

QUEN TEHITTO.

Iquac mjtoa: intla aca cenca tlaçotalo, maviztililo, tlaçamacho: aca qujtoa: tleica in cenca qujmaviztilia in: njman ic monanqujlia. Quen tehitto.

NO AY QUE CONFIAR EN PARIENTES O A MUERTOS Y A YDOS NO AY AMJGOS.

Dizese este refran: de los que estan en necesidad o los mismos lo dizen de si mjsmos porque no ay nadie que entonce los fauorezca y ansi dizen aiaca matlacpa teca. qujere dezir todos me an desamparado.

EL QUE VIUE DE GALLOFERIA Y ES
BAGABUNDO DIZE NO FALTARA
QUE COMER.

Este refran dize: el bagabvndo y que no tiene officio njnguno si le preguntan de donde come y beue dize tepal njtzopiloti como si dixesse nunca falta porque las auras hallan siempre que coman.

NO ESCALIENTA EL SOL LUEGO EN
SALIENDO.

Este refran se dize: de los principiantes en qualquiera officio o sciencia que poco a poco van deprendiendo y nadie depende el officio o sciencia de repente como el sol que quando sale no calienta y como va subiendo poco a poco va calentado mas y mas.

AUNQUE AGORA ME DESCONOCEN Y
DEFAUORESCEN MJS PARIENTES ADADO
EL TIEMPO BOLUERAN POR MJ.

Este refran dize: el que a caydo en manos de sus acreedores o de los que le maltratan y no buelue nadie por el y dize cam machpa tiujtze acordarse an mjs parientes que soy su pariente y fauorescerme an.

CADA VNO TIENE SU PROP'IO
PARECER BUENO O MALO.

Dize el que le hizieron alguna honrra particular entre otros que la merecia mejor: y dizen del los otros como te hizo hõrra aquel pues que eres el mas ruyñ de nosotros y el responde quẽ

HE IS LIKE HIS RABBIT

It is said of these: when some drink wine, when one weeps much and one wrangles with others, shouts at others, of him who shouts at others or who weeps to himself it is said: "He is like his rabbit." It is because in times of old, wine was falsely attributed to the rabbits, whom the ancient ones worshipped.

Also it is said of one who much afflicts others or of a pious person whom everyone loves, even if he is not drunk; it also was said: "He is like his rabbit"; that is, "So is his way of life."

FACE OF GLORY

It is said of one who seems to be fair of body, to make things well, to do things well, but can do nothing. Especially is it said of women who appear to be able to embroider, to spin, but just can do nothing; they only fool one. Hence of such it is said: "Face of glory."

DOETH A WRY LOOK HURT ONE? AND ALSO IT IS SAID: "PERHAPS THERE IS SHAME IN MY FACE; ARE MY ENTRAELS ALSO SHAMED?"

It is said at this time: if I am already very hungry, already dying of hunger; several are eating; I beg them to give me a little of what they eat; they give me nothing — they are only angry, they look askance at me.

But because I am already quite dying of hunger, I then quickly seat myself among them and I eat something, or else I quickly snatch myself a tortilla. At this time it is said: "Doeth a wry look hurt one?" For looking askance at one does one no harm, but hunger kills one; because of it there is death.

WHERE DOST THOU FIND CONSOLATION?

It is said at this time: If someone abused me, injured me with words, already I go to see one of my friends,

IE IUHQY ITOCH.

Intechpa mjtóa: in jquac acame tla-oana, in aca cenca choca: auh in aca teaoa, tetzatzilia: in aqujn tetzatzilia, in anoço mochoqujlia, mjtóaia: ie iuhquj itoch. Ipampa ca in ie vecauh, in octli intech qujtlamjliaia in totochtin, in qujnmoteotiaia vetetque.

No itechpa mjtóa in aqujn cenca tetolinjanj: in anoço tlatlaczintli, in muchi tlacatl qujtlacotla: macivi in amo tlaonquj, no mjtóaia. Ie iuhquj itoch, qujtoznequj: ie iuhquj yieliz.

IXTIMAL.

Itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn cenca qualli ic neci inacaio, in ca itla vel qujchíoa, in ca vel itla ay: auh ie atle vel qujchíoa. Oc cenca intechpa mjtóa in cioa, in ca neci vellamachíoa, vel tzaoa, auh ça ie amo, atle vel ai, çan teixcúepa: ic itechpa mjtóa. Ixtimal.

CUJX TECOCO IN JXCUELLI: AUH IE NO MJTOA. AÇO NOXAIAC IN PINAOA: IN NOCUJTLAXCOL CUJX NO PINAOA.

Iquac mjtóa: intla cenca ie njteucivi, ie no napizmjqj: cequjntin tlaquaticate: njqujntlahtlanjlia, in ma tepiton nechmacacan in qujqua, atle nechmaca: çan qualanj, nechixcuelitta:

auh iehica ca cenca ie no napizmjqj: njman intlan nonnotlalitivetzí, ioan nj-tlaqua, anoço çan no concujtivetzi in tlaxcalli: iquac mjtóa. Cujx tecoco in jxcuelli: ca in teixcuelittaliztli, aquen techiuh: çan in apizmjqjiliztli temjcti, ic mjcoa.

CAMPA XONPATI.

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca onechaoac onehcoco tlatoltica: ie njctoca ce noc-njuh njqujttaz, injc vmpa njnoiollaliz:

teito: parecióle assi que yo la merecía [sic] mejor.

LOS BORRACHOS CON EL VINO VNOS LLORAN OTROS VOZEAN OTROS RIÑEN OTROS APOREAN A LOS QUE TOPAN Y ANSI DIZEN QUE CADA BORRACHO TIENE SU PARTICULAR CONEJO.

Este refran se dize de las condiciones diuersas de los hombres dizen ie iuhquj itoch: esse tiene esa condicion.

TIENE BUENA CARA: TIENE BUENA PARENCIA.

Este refran se dize: de las personas que en su gesto y disposicion parece que son para mucho y no sō para nada en la verdad, o son pa poco desta se dize por uja de mofa ixtimal, cara gloriosa.

LASTIMA EL CUERPO EL MJRAN CON CEÑO?

Este refran se dize: de los que no se dan nada del ceño de la cara nj dexan de hazer lo que les parece aunque alguno les mjre con cara enojada: como es quando algunos estan comjendo y entra alguno de nueuo y los que estan comjendo le mjran de mal rostro dandole a entender que les pesa de su vida nj aun le combidan a comer sino que querrian que se fuesse y el no obstante esto sientase a comer y come dize dentro de si. Cujx tecoco yn jxcuelli qujere dezir, mas vale verguença en rostro que manzilla en coraçon.

DONDE HALLARA EL HOMBRE CONSOLACION? O DÕDE PENSE DE HALLAR CÕSOLACION HALLE REPREHENSION.

Este adagio se dize: del que desconsolado fue a hablar a algun amigo suyo contandole su trabajo y el no le consolo

in order there to be comforted. But likewise there he abuses me, he afflicts me. Similarly he sends me away. I have fallen into his mouth. Hence then it is said: "Where dost thou find consolation?"

MY HEART WHITENETH, THY HEART WHITENETH, ETC.

It is said at this time of that which we much desire, for which our heart much longs; such as when already I die of thirst, or already I die of hunger, or there is something further desirable. When my heart realizes it, it greatly rejoices. At that time it is said: "My heart whiteneth."

IT IS LOOSELY BOUND

It is said at this time: If someone accuses me with many things which he says so that I may be afflicted, and he belittles me exceedingly so that I cannot answer, but I still take thought how I can help myself. If someone will say: "Why dost thou not help thyself?" I answer him, I say to him: "It is loosely bound. Even though he trieth, it is only in vain. He doth not know in what wise I shall avenge his deceit."

HE IS WITHOUT HIS REAL NOSE

It is said at this time: When some untrue statement is proclaimed irresponsibly, if it nowhere can be verified—as if one said: "It is said that the Emperor died," this is just said; it is not true. Hence it is said: "He is without his real nose." But if the truth is told, it will be said: "It is his real nose."

MODERATION IS REQUIRED

We shall not put on us very tattered things, neither shall we dress magnificently; only modestly shall we adorn ourselves as to clothing.

ALL HUMANITY GETTETH UP TO GO

It is said at this time: When harvest is gathered, when everyone goes to gather the harvest. Also it may be said when everyone goes to his maize field when land is cultivated.

auh ça ie no vmpa nechaoa, nechtolinja: çan no iuh nechioa, icamac nonvetzi: ic vncan mjtoa. Campa xompati.

NOIOLLO IJZTAIA, MOIOLLO IJZTAIA. ETC.

Iquac mjtoa: in tlein cenca tiquelevia, cenca itech vetzi in toiollo: in juhquj iquac cenca ie nonamquj, anoço ie napizmquj, anoço itla oc centlamantli elevilonj: in jquac qujtta noiollo, cenca papaquj: iquac mjtoa. Noiollo ijztaia.

PATLACHILPITICA.

Iquac mjtoa: intla itla aca ic nechteixpavia, mjiac tlamantli in qujtoa inje vel njtolinjloz: auh cenca nechmoxictia, inje amo vel njtlananqujlia: auh iece vel njcnemjlia, inje njnopaleviz: Intla aca qujtoz. Tleica in amo timopaleuja. Nicnanqujlia, njqujlvia. Patlachilpitica: macivi muchicaoa çan qujpiquj: amo qujmati in quenjn vel ipan njccuepaz itecanecaiaoaiz.

AIATLE IVEL YIACA.

Iquac mjtoa: in jtla tlatolli amo melaoac, in çan iliujz moteneoa, acan vel ixneci: in juhquj tla aca qujtoa. Qujl omjc in Emperador: injn ca çan mjtoa, camo nelli: ic mjtoa. Aiatle iuel iaca. Auh intla ie melaoac mjtoa: mjttoz. Ie iuel iaca.

TLACOQUALLI IN MONEQUJ.

Amo cenca tzotzomatli in totech ticlalizque: amo no cenca titoieccuetzazque: çan jpan qualli inje titochichioazque: in jtechpa in tlaquemjtl.

TLACAITLEOA.

Iquac mjtoa: in jquac pipixco, in muchi tlatatl iauh mopixqujliz: no vel mjtoa, in jquac muchi tlatatl iauh, in jmjlpán, in jquac elimjco.

mas antes le reprehendio y desconsolo dize este. Campa xompati: fuj por lana y vine trasquilado

MI CORAÇON SE ALEGRO O MY CORAÇÕ SE PUSO BLANCO O EL CORACÕ.

Dizesse este refran: del que se alegro por auer hallado lo que mucho desseava dize noiollo ijztaia alegroseme el ojo.

NO ES NUDO CIEGO QUE NO SE PUEDA DESHAZER FLOXAMENTE ESTA ATADO.

Este refran se dize: de aquel que le acusan de alguna cosa o le arguen de alguna cosa que con facilidad se puede responder o remediar, y dize patlachilpitica, esse negocio con facilidad se podra remediar o con facilidad se puede responder a ese argumento.

NO ES COSA CIERTA LO QUE DIZE, NO LLEUA CAMJNO PARA SER VERDAD ESTO.

Este refran se dize: de las nuevas hechadizas o fingidas que no lleuã color de verdad el que las oye responde diziendo ayatle vel yiac: no tiene esto apariencia de vdad.

LO MODERADO CÕVIENE MAS EN TODAS LAS COSAS.

Este refran se dize: de qualquiera extremo ora sea en vestir o en comer o en hablar dizen tlacoqualli monequj, lo rasonable es bueno.

ESTE ES TIEMPO Ë QUE TODOS VAN A HAZER SUS SEMENTERAS O A COGER SUS MAHIZES ETA. SIN QUEDAR NADIE.

Este refran se dize: de los tiempos quando todos acuden a hazer sus haziendas segun que el tiempo lo demanda dizen tlacaytleoa todos abarrisco van a hazer tal o tal cosa.

HAVE I JUST BECOME A COYOTE?

DO I NOT SEE IT SOMETIME?

It is said at this time: If one pretends to know something. Perhaps he says: "I went to Castile," or to Guatemala, or he says: "I was an *alcalde*." But it is not true; he only lies. So it is said: "Have I just become a coyote? Do I not see at some time that he went to Castile or to Guatemala, or⁵ that at some time he was an *alcalde*?"

QUJN JN NJCOIUTL: MA ICA
NJQUJTTA.

Iquac mjtóa: intla itla aca qujmoma-chitoca: aço qujtoa. Onjvia in caxtilan, anoço Quauhtemallan, anoço qujtoa: nalcalde onjcatca: çan ie amo nelli, çan qujztlacati: ic ommjtóa. Qujn jn njcoyotl: ma ica njqujttá in castillan ovia, anoço Quauhtemallan, anoco ica Alcalde ocatca.

MAY I BATHE MYSELF AT CHAPULTEPEC!

It is said at this time: If it befalls me that a great sickness settles on me or my burden is somewhat afflicting, I very much wish that I recover, that my burden soon come to an end. And if in some way I recovered or my burden came to an end, then I say: "May I bathe myself at Chapultepec!"

MA CHAPULTEPEC NJNAALTI.

Iquac mjtóa: intla nopan muchioa vei cocoliztli, notech omotlali, anoço itla notequjuh tetolinj: cenca njquelevia in ma njpati: in ma iciuhca tzonqujça in notequjuh. Auh intla oquentel njpatic: anoço otzonqujz in notequjuh: njman ic njqujtoa. Ma chapultepec njnaalti.

COMENÇE AYER POR UENTURA A SER
LOBO O ZORRO COMO NO LO VI, O NO LO
SUPE SI ESSO FUERA VERDAD SUPIERALO
YO O VUJERALO YO SABIDO.

Este adagio se dize del que cuêta muchas cosas loables que a hecho y muchas cosas notables que a visto jactandose dello con falsedad y el que oye estas cosas y sabe que es jactancia no verdad y no verdad [*sic*] responde diziendo qujn in njcoiutl ma yca njqujttá qujere dezir supiera yo esso si fuera verdad pues que no naci ayer pues que soy antiguo y tengo harta habilidad para saber lo que los otros hazen o donde an andado.

DESSEO YRME A BAÑAR A CHAPULTEPEC
O QUERRIA PODER YRME A BAÑAR A
CHAPULTEPEC.

Este refran dize: el que a tenjdo alguna gran emfermedad o algun cargo pesado con desseo de uerse libre de aquel cargo o enfermedad: dize. Ma chapultepec njnaalti que qujere dezir, bañarme ya en agua rosada quãdo este cargo o enfermedad se me qujtasse. Chapultepec es vna fuente que esta cerca de mexico muy buena los que se bañan en ella piensan que les haze dios gran merced: así este adagio es de los mexicanos.

ESTE O ESTOS NO SE HALLAN BIEN CON
LOS POBRES NJ QUJEREN SER TRATADOS
COMO POBRES SINO COMO NOBLES
Y GENEROSOS.

Dizese este refran: de aquellos que qujeren y dessean ser honrrados en todo assi en la comjda como en lo demas, y si por uentura entran en casa donde no son tratados conforme a su fantasia enojanse y menosprecian a qujen los hospedo o combido y el que siente esto que es el que cumbido o hospeda dize ayncopilpan nemjtiztli qujere dezir Este no es para entre los pobres.

JUSTAMENTE PADECES O HUELGOME QUE
TE A VENJDO ESSE MAL.

Esto dize el que vee a alguno que tropeço o cayo o le vino algũ daño porque se huelga de aquel mal que le

LIVING IS NOT WITH THE POOR

It is said of some ruler who enters the house of some poor commoner. Then it is said: "This ruler — living is not with the poor"; that is to say, he is not to enter the home of a poor man, but he should enter the house of a ruler. Also it is said of someone who is unappreciative. Perhaps some little thing is offered, perhaps a little food. He only belittles it, he only disdains it; he requires something costly; perhaps he requires a turkey hen. Then it is said: "Living is not with the poor."

HE IS RIGHTLY SERVED, OR

HE HAD IT COMING

It is said at this time: If we send someone for something, with difficulty have we caused him to get it, to receive

AICNOPILPAN NEMJTIZTLI.

Itechpa mjtóa: in aca tlatoanj, ipan calaquj aca maceoaltzintli: njman mjtóa. Injn tlatoanj: amo icnopilpan nemjtiztli, qujtoznequj: amo icnotlacatl ichan calaqujz, çan no tlatoanj in monequj ichan calaqujz. No itechpa mjtóa: in aca amo tlamaviçoanj, aço itlatzin maco, aço tlaqualtzintli: çan atle ipan qujtta, çan qujteltchioa, aço patiio in qujnequj, aço totolin qujnequj: njman ic mjtóa. Aicnopilpan nemjtiztli.

TELCHITL, ANOÇO. ATELCHITL.

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca tictitlanj, aiax-can oticceliltique aço itla oqujcujzquja: çan atle oqujcujto, qujoalitotih: ca

5. Read *anoço*.

it. Perhaps he was to have secured something; but he went getting nothing. He goes off saying: "What is it I should have secured?" Or he went off somewhere stumbling and falling. Hence it is said: "He had it coming."

IT AROSE FROM THY LAZINESS

It is said at this time: If we send someone to call someone but he does not wish to go and later we cause him to get him; and perhaps he meets him whom he was especially to call, perhaps just outside the house—perhaps he had left some time ago—then it is said to him: "It arose from thy laziness."

MY LOUSE-NITS HAVE HEARD IT ALL

It is said at this time: If one assigns someone to do something, many times he keeps turning away, many times he says the words.

THEY MAKE *mole* OF ALL THE HORNED TOADS I CATCH

It is said at this time: If someone is assigned some easy task, he regards it as difficult. Or he hears some little word; he thinks it dangerous, he is disheartened by it. Hence it is answered: "They make *mole* of all," etc.

I SPREAD THE BLACK

It is said at this time: By what we do wrong or say imprudently, we are therefore angered, offended. It derives from painters of colors who sometimes err when they outline something in black; sometimes they spread the black.

AS THE LITTLE SNAIL SAID, IT IS CERTAINLY NOT OUR PLACE OF SHATTERING

It is said at this time: If someone has committed some wrong and is punished for it; or they imprisoned him; or someone went somewhere [and] there he died. Hence it is said, "As the little snail said, it is certainly not our place of shattering."

tleiyn onjccujzquja, anoço cana onmolavitequjto: ic onmolhvia. Atelchjtl.

OMOTLATZIVIZ EOAC

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca tictitlanj, aca qujnotzaz: auh amo qujnequj in iaz: auh çatepan vel ticceliltia: auh in mache qujnotzaz, aço ça caltenpan in connamjquj, aço ie ocuel oalla, ic onjlhvilo. Omotlatziviz eoac.

MUCHI OQUJCAC IN NACEL

Iquac mjtóa: in aca itla qujteneoa, mjiēcpa qujcujctlacuepa, in atztzan qujtóa in tlatolli.

MUCH IN QUJMOMOLCHIOA IN TAPAIAXIN NJCACI

Iquac mjtóa: in aca itla tequjtulo, in amo ovi: cenca covicaitta: anoço qujcaquj itla tepiton tlatolli, covicamati, ic motequjpachoa: ic monanqujlia. Much in qujmomolchioa. etc.

NITLATLILPATLAAO

Iquac mjtóa: in tlein aihquj ticchi-
oa, anoço tiqujtoa atonezcaliztica ic titlaqualanja, ic titlaiolitlacoa. In tlapallacujloque intechpa oalqujça: in quenmanjan tlatlacoa, in jquac tlatlil-
anja: in quenmanjan qujtlatlacoa.

IUH QUJTO ATECOCOLPIL, AIE NEL TOXAXAXAMACAIA

Iquac mjtóa: intla aca, itla oqujchiuh tlatlaculli: auh ic otlatzacujtiloc, anoço oqujtzacutia: anoço aca canapa oia, vmpa omomjqujli: ic mjtóa. Iuh qujto atecocolpil, aie nel toxaxamacaian.

vino y de aquí dicen comúnmente teca onjlatelchiuh: q'ere dezir holgueme del mal ageno.

A PROPOSITO DE MJ PEREZA A VENJDO

Este refran dize, el que con dificultad fue persuadido a que fuesse a llamar a alguno o que hiziesse algo que el no queria a hazer y quādo ya yua a llamar al que le mandan el otro vino o quādo ya yua a hazer lo que le mandauā y luego le mādarō que le dexasse dize onotlatziujz eoac. hizosse conforme a lo que mj pereza desseaua.

Y YA ESTOY ENHASTIADO DE OYRTE ESSO

Este refran dize: el que le mādan hazer algo muchas vezes y el no lo qujere hazer y para dar a entender que por mas que se lo digan no lo hara dize: muchi oqujcac inacel [sic]: todas las liendres que tengo en la cabeça ā ya oydo esso y estan enhastadas de oyrlō.

Dizese este adagio, de aquellos que qualquiera cosa libiana se le haze graue de hazer.

ESTOY BORRANDO O HAGO ALGUNA COSA QUE NO PARECERA BIEN

Este refran dize: el que humjllādose de alguna cosa que esta haziendo dize njtlatlilpatlaoa hago poco y mal como el pintor necio que haze mal su officio.

CANATARILLO QUE MUCHAS VEZES VA A LA FUENTE O DEXA EL ASA O LA FRÈTE EL CARACORILLO QUE MUCHAS VEZES ATRAUJESSA EL CAMJNO ALGUNA VEZ QUEDALLI PISADO DE LOS CAMJNATES

Dizes este refran: por los que hazen muchas vezes vn peccado q̄ alguna vez le toman en el y paga iunto lo que hizo y dizese entonce aie nel toxaxamacaian qujere dezir, lleo el tiempo de pagar por los males hechos.

WHERE IS THE SORCERER?

It is said at this time: If I sell something dear — perhaps its price has become five pesos, but only one peso is paid; or I undertake to make a little something for someone from which I cannot gain, profit a little. Then it is said: "Where is the sorcerer?"

THERE A PIECE OF CLOTH WAS HUNG

It is said at this time: If I accuse someone because of some little thing but he takes even greater vengeance upon me so as to endanger me; or at this time: if something like a cape or a gourd vessel is rent — it is rent only slightly — and I later try to join it [but] it is thus rent even more, hence it is then said: "There a piece of cloth was hung."

WHERE IS COYONACAZCO?

It is said at this time: If one finds fault with someone, explains something to someone, if he does not make his words very clear, though he discloses a little, then the fault-finder is answered: "Where is Coyonacazco?" Also it is said of one who is sent on an errand, perhaps to get something, perhaps to call someone; twice, thrice is he addressed, but really he does not hear it. Hence it is said to him: "Where is Coyonacazco?"

HIS GULLET IS ALREADY GONE

It is said of one who very forcibly cites one before the law, aggressively argues his case, but when he can do nothing to cite one before the law, he only goes yielding meekly. And it can be said of one who is shameless, who becomes vain, who esteems no one. And many times one is so called who goes meekly, in humility; just like a colt he already goes about greatly tamed. Hence it is said: "Already [his gullet] is gone," etc.

IT IS JUST BORN

It is said at this time: If it is only a little thing. We say it when the little quickly ends. When it has come to an end, we say: "It is just born."

CANPA XONNAOALLI.

Iquac mjtóa: itla itla njcnamaca tla-
çotli, aço macujlpeço ipatiuh muchiuh:
auh ça çe peso injc quipatijotia. anoço
itla çan tepiton njtechivilia, in amo
vel itla vncan njcnjnextilia, njqujcno-
pilvia: ic mjtóa. Canpa xonnaoalli.

VMPA ÇE ÇOTL OMMOPILO.

Iquac mjtóa: itla aca njteixpauja
itlaton ipampa: auh ie uei, injc nopan
qujcuepa injc nechovitilia: anoçe iquac
itla itla otzaian, in juhquj tilmatlí,
anoço xicalli, çan tepiton ic otzaian:
auh çatepan njqujtzomaznequj, oc cen-
ca ie vei injc oaltzaianj: ic vncan mjtóa.
Vmpa çe çotl onmpilo.

CANJN MACH COIONACAZCO.

Iquac mjtóa: in aca tenaoalaoa, tetla-
caqujtia, in amo cenca qujnnextia tla-
tolli: tel achi caqujzti: ic monanqujlia
in tenaoalaoanj. Canjn mach coiona-
cazco. No itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn
qujtitlanj, aço itla qujcujz, anoço teno-
tzaz, oppa, expa in jlivilo, ça nel amo
qujcaquj: ic ilhivilo. Canjn mach coio-
nacazco.

IE ÔIAUH IN JTLATOLHOAZ.

Itechpa mjtóa: in aca cenca mochi-
caoa teteixpavia, in cenca motlatolchi-
caoa: auh in jquac in avel qujchioa
injc teteixpavia, in çan jvian mocauh-
tiuh. Ioan vel itechpa mjtóa: in aca
aquen tlatta, moquaquatlaça, in aiac tle
ipan qujtta: auh injc mjiecpa nono-
tzalo, ie iviantzin mocnomattiuh: in
maca çan potro, çan jvian ie tlcaciu-
tiuh: ic mjtóa. Ie ôiauh. etc.

ÇAN JXQUJCH MOTLACATILI.

Iquac mjtóa: itla çan tepiton tiq-
jtoa in amo vei, in jciuhca ontzonqujça:
in jquac ontzonqujz, tiqjtoa. Çan jx-
qujch motlacatili

NO AY LUGAR SECRETO NO AY COSA QUE NO SE SEPA.

Este refran se dize: del que cõfia que
no se sabra el mal que haze ansi dizen
campa xõnaoalli no ay cosa que no se
sepa. tambien qujere dezir donde pense
ganar perdi.

PENSE DE VENGARME Y DENDE ME VINO MAYOR INJURIA.

Este refran se dize: del que cõ
apetito de vengarse hizo a su enemjgo
algun daño pequeño y de alli le resulto
algun gran daño tambien se dize del
que qujso remediar algun daño pe-
queño y empeorose lo que queria
remediar.

AL BUEN ENTENDEDOR POCAS PALABRAS O BIEN ENTIENDO QUE MURMURAYS DE MÍ POR SUMAS.

Este adagio se toma de vn lugar que
se llama coionacazco solamente se vsa
en el tlailulco o poco mas porque en el
esta este lugar que se llama coionacazco.

YA SE LE ABAXA LA COLERA.

Este refran se dize del que entendia
en algun negocio cõ mucho brio y co
mocha [sic] colera y hallando resisten-
cia perdio el brio dizen del ye oiauh in
jlatolhoaz ya perdio el brio en hablar
que antes tenja.

NO AY MAS POSIBILIDAD.

Dize este refran el que da poco o
haze poco en fauor de otro y por dar a
entender que si mas pudiera mas hiziera
dize Çan ie ixqujch motlacatili qujere
dezir rescetid la buena volutad que si
mas pudiera hazer mas hiziera.

WHO CANNOT ORNAMENT HIS ENTRAILS?
It is said of the artisan like a feather-
worker, who ornaments what he makes
well, who designs it well with designs
to sell quickly, to be bought.

ONCE AGAIN IT WILL BE; ONCE AGAIN
IT WILL BE CUSTOMARY, SOMETIME,
SOMEWHERE

What was done in very old times, is
no longer done, but once again it will
be done, once again it will thus be cus-
tomary as it was customary in ancient
times. Those who live now will live,
will exist once again.

THOU HAST NOT REACHED THE SEASON OF
THE GREEN MAIZE EAR; THOU HAST NOT
REACHED THE SEASON OF THE
MAIZE TASSEL

This saying may be understood in
two ways—one good and one bad.
And as for the time when it is good:
At a time if someone is very estimable,
wealthy—who always watches his
wealth, his riches, or his rulership here
on earth, it was said: "He hath reached
his season of the green maize ear, of his
maize tassel; he is much esteemed, he
is praised." Of one such as this it is said
that he has achieved his merit.

AC AICUJTLAXCOLTZIN
QUJTLATLAMACHICA.

Itechpa mjtoa: in tlachichihuhquj, in
juhquj amantecatl, in vel qujiecchichioa
in jtlachioal, in vel qujtlamachiotia:
injc yciuhca aqujz, coaloz.

OC CEPA IUHCAN IEZ, OC CEPPA IUH
TLAMANJZ IN JQUJN, IN CANJN.

In tlein mochioaia cenca ie vecauh,
in aiocmo mochioa: auh oc ceppa mo-
chioaz, oc ceppa iuh tlamanz, in juh
tlamanca ie vecauh: in iehoantin, in
axcan nemj, oc ceppa nemjzque, iezque.

MA AMO IXILOIIOCAN TACI: MA AMO
IMJIAOAIOCAN TACI

Injn tlatolli: vntlamantli injc moca-
quj: centlamantli qualli, auh centla-
mantli amo qualli. Auh in jquac qualli:
iquac intla aca cenca maviztililonj, mo-
tlamachtianj, in muchipa qujpia in
netlamachtilli in necujltonolli: manoço
in tlatocaiotl in njcan tlalticpac: mj-
toaia. Oac in jmjiaoaiocan, in jxilo-
iocan: cenca maviztililo iecteneoalo:
mjtoaia ca oimaceal mochiuh, in aqujn
ihuhquj, yn.

QUJEN NO SABE ADORNAR SU
MANTENJMJENTO.

Dizese este refran: de los oficiales
mechanjcos que ponen grā diligencia
en adornar y hermostear las cosas de su
oficio para que parezcā bien y se ven-
dan presto y valgan mas. Dizese tñbien
de los lisongeros y de los que cōponē
hermosamente sus palabras para alcan-
çar lo que demādā o lo que pretenden
y asi destos se dize aca ycujtloxcoltzin
qujtlatlamachia qujere [decir] por
ganar de comer no sabe afeytar lo que
dize y lo que haze.

LO QUE ES TORNARA A SER Y LO QUE
FUE OTRA UEZ SERA.

Esta proposicion es de platon y el
diablo la enseño aca porque es erronea
es falsissima es contra la fe la qual
qujere dezir las cosas que fueron tor-
naran a ser como fueron en los tiempos
pasados y las cosas que son agora serā
otra uez: de manera que segun este
error los que agora viuen tornaran a
biujr y como esta agora el mundo tor-
nara a ser de la mjma manera lo qual
es falsissimo y hereticissimo.

NUNCA TE LOGRES O NUNCA VENGAS
A COLMO.

Este refran es de los maldicientes q̄
dessean que el que esta en prosperidad
caya della y el que va subiendo en dig-
nidad o prosperidad no llegue a la
cūbre. tambien qujere dezir mjra que
no desfallezcas por tu negligencia de
saber la verdad deste negocio, tambien
qujere dezir pues guardaos que aūque
agora estays en prosperidad por uentura
la fortuna os dara vna çancadilla y
caereys dello en que estays.

Forty-second Chapter. Here are told some riddles, the so-called "what-is-its" with which riddles are made as if they were mysteries.

What is it that is a small blue gourd bowl filled with popcorn? One can see from our little riddle that it is the heavens.

What is it that drags its entrails as it proceeds through the gorge? One can see from our little riddle that it is the needle.

What is it that is a horizontal drum of green stone bound about the middle with flesh? One can see from our little riddle that it is the ear plug.

What is it that is a little water jar to carry upon the head, which knows the land of the dead? One can see from our little riddle that it is the pottery pitcher for drawing water.

What are the ten broad stones which one bears on the back? One can see from our little riddle that they are our fingernails.

What is that which is caught in a black forest, which dies here on the broad white stones? One can see from our little riddle that it is the louse we catch on our head; we lay it out on our fingernail, where we kill it.

What is that which is a hollow straw singing? It is the sackbut.

What is that which is black, writing with liquid lead? The crawling snail.

What is that which lies pointing to the heavens, with its finger? The maguay point.

What is that which has a skirt of one piece with which lice are removed from one? The comb.

Ic ompoalli omome capitulo, vncan mjtóa: cequj çaçanjlli, in mjtóa çaçan tleino, injc moçaçanjlvia, in juhqujma monaoaltotoca.

Çaçan tleino, xoxouhquj xicaltintli, mumuchitl ontemj. Aca qujttaz toçaçanjltzin, tlaçanenca ilvicatl.

Çaçan tleino, icujtlaxcol qujvilana, tepetozcatl qujtoca. Aca qujttaz toçaçanjltzin, tlaçanenca vitzmallotl.

Çaçan tleino chalchiuhtepunaztli, naticata cujtlalpitoc. Aca qujttaz toçaçanjltzin, tlaçanenca nacochtli.

Çaçan tleino, quatzocoltzin mjectlan ommati. Aca qujttaz toçaçanjltzin, tlaçanenca apilolli, ic atlacujoa.

Çaçan tleino, matlactin tepatlactli qujmamamatimanj. Aca qujttaz toçaçanjltzin, tlaçanenca tozti.

Çaçan tleino, tilquauhtla ommana, iztac tepatlacpan oalmjquj. Aca qujttaz toçaçanjltzin, tlaçanenca atemjtl: tocpac toconana, toztipan tiquateca: vncan toconmjectia.

Çaçan tleino, cocoçacatzin mocujcujcatia. Tlaçanenca sacapuch.

Çaçan tleino, cacatzactli temetzatica tlacujloa. Teccizmamaque.

Çaçan tleino, ilhvicac vmmapilotoque. Vitztli.

Çaçan tleino, içeçocuetzin moteahatemjlia. Tziqaoaztli



Capitulo. 42. de algunos çaçanjles de los muchos que vsa esta gente mexicano [sic]: que son como los que cosa y cosa de nuestra lengua.

Que cosa y cosa vna gicara azul sembrada de mahizes tostados que se llaman momochitl. Este es el cielo que esta sembrado de estrellas.

Que cosa y cosa, que va por vn valle y lleva las tripas arrastrado. Esta es el aguja quando cosen con ella que lleva el hilo arrastrado.

Que cosa y cosa, vn teponaztli hecho de vna piedra preciosa y ceñido con carne biua. Es la orejera hecha de piedra preciosa que esta metida en la oreja.

Que cosa y cosa, vn jarro o cantaro con asa que sabe yr al infierno. Este es el cantaro con que vā por agua a la fuente.

Que cosa y cosa, diez piedras que las tiene alguno a cuestras. Estos sō las vñas que estan sobre los dedos.

Que cosa y cosa que se toma [en] vna montaña negra y se mata en vn petlate blanco. Este es el piojo que se toma en la cabeza que se mata en la vña.

Que cosa y cosa vna caña hueca que esta cantando. Este es el sacavuche.

Que cosa y cosa vn negrilla que va escribiendo con vedriado: son los caracoles negros que quando van andando dexan el camjno por donde van vedriado con vnas babitas que dexan.

Que cosa y cosa que esta señalando al cielo con el dedo. Es la espina del maguay.

Que cosa y cosa que tiene naos de sola vna pierna y busca piojos. Es el peyne que en el medio tiene como vna pierna de mātā angosta y de ambas partes las puas que sacan los piojos de la cabeza.

What is it that bends over us all over the world? The maize tassel.

What is that which is a terrifying old woman who gnaws under the earth? The gopher.

What is that which is a little silver thing tied on a brown maguey thread? A nit.

What is that which is a small mirror in a house made of fir branches? Our eye.

What is that which is a hill whence there is a flow? Our nose.

What is that which grinds with flint knives, in which a piece of leather lies, enclosed in flesh? Our mouth.

What is that of which the face is soft flesh, the occiput inserted? Our finger.

What is that which is flesh-faced, bone-necked? It is the same, our finger.

What is that which has a small, wrinkled face, then goes kicking? Our knee.

What is that which is an old woman with hair of straw standing at the house entrance? The maize bin.

What is that which is red, slender; [which] easily bites one? The ant.

What is that which [says]: "You jump [so that] I shall jump"? This is the drum stick.

What is that which [says]: "I go this way, thou goest that way, [so that] we shall meet there"? The breech cloth.

What is a small white stone holding a quetzal feather? The onion.

What is that which is white-headed, holding a quetzal feather? This is likewise the onion.

Çağan tleino, cemanaoac topapanco-loltzitzin. Miiaoatl.

Çağan tleino, tetzavilama tlallan tlaquaqua. Toğan.

Çağan tleino, teocujtlapolotziqijtzin iapalichtica mecaiotica. Aceli.

Çağan tleynon tezcatzintli acxoiacalctica. tixtelolo.

Çağan tleino, tepetlamjmlollij ijtica meia. Toiac.

Çağan tleino, tecpatica texoa, cuetlaxtli vncan onoc, nacatica tzacqij. Tocamac.

Çağan tleino, ixnacapapatz, cuexcochacalacti. Tomapil.

Çağan tleino, ixnaca quechomj: çan ie no iehoatl in tomapil.

Çağan tleino, ixtexolochtitzin qujn topeuhtih. Totlanqua.

Çağan tleino, çacatzontelama tequjiaoac moquequetza. Cuezcomatl.

Çağan tleino, tlaltepitzactli, aiovi tequa. Azcatl.

Çağan tleino xoncholo, noncholo: iehoatl in olmaitl

Çağan tleino, njpa njiauh, njpa xiauh, vmpa tontonamjqujzque. Maxtlatl.

Çağan tleino iztactetzintli quetzalli conmantica. Xonacatl.

Çağan tleino, quaztalcomoctzin, quetzalli conmantica: çan ie no iehoatl in xonacatl.

Que cosa y cosa, que en todo el mudo encima de nosotros se encorba. Son los penachos del mahiz qdo se uñ secado y encorquando.

Que cosa y cosa, vna vieja mostruosa debaxo de tierra anda comjendo o ruyedo. Es el topo.

Que cosa y cosa, vna cosita pequeñita de plata que esta atada con vna hebra de ichtli de color castaño. Es la liendre que esta como atada al cabello.

Que cosa y cosa espejo que esta en vna casa hecha de ramos de pino. Es el ojo que tiene la cejas [sic] como ramada del arbol que llaman acxoatl.

Que cosa y cosa vn cerro como loma y mana por de dentro. Son las narizes.

Que cosa y cosa que muele con pederuales y alli tiene vn cuero blando hechado y esta cercado con carne. Es la boca que tiene los dientes con que masca y la lengua tendida en medio esta cerrada con carne. sō los labios et.

Que cosa y cosa que tie [sic] la cara de carne blanda y el cobote [sic] duro encaxado en la carne. Es el dedo de la mano q tiene de vna parte la carne blanda y de la contraria la vña encaxada.

Que cosa y cosa cara de carne y cuello de hueso. Es el dedo.

Que cosa y cosa, va dando embiones co cara arrogadas. Es las rodillas.

Que cosa y cosa, vna vieja que tiene los cabellos de heno y esta cerca de la puerta de casa. Es la troxe del mahiz.

Que cosa y cosa, es colorada o bermeja y delgadilla y muerde apressuradamente. Es la homjrga [sic].

Que cosa y cosa, que dize salta tu y yo saltare. Es la mano o palo con que tañen el teponaztli.

Que cosa y cosa, voy acolla ve tu a la otra parte y alla nos iuntaremos. Es el mastli que el vn cabo va a vna parte y el otro a la contraria y tornase a nudar iuntamente.

Que cosa y cosa, piedra blanca y della nacen plumas verdes. Es la cebolla.

Que cosa y cosa, que tiene los cabellos canos hasta al cabo y cria plumas verdes. Es tambien la cebolla.

What is that which we enter in three places [and] leave by only one? It is our shirt.

What is that whose ribs one scratches [so that] it lies crying out? The bone rasp.

What is that with large ribs on the outside which stands along the road? The carrying frame.

What is it we seize from the edge of its hole so that we harden the ground? This is the nose mucus.

What is that which enters the forest going with its tongue hanging? The axe.

What is that which bats its big head at the edge of one's roof terrace? The ladder.

What is it that has a tight shift? The tomato.

What is it that comes out—"take thy stone"? Excrement.

What is the scarlet macaw leading, the raven following? The conflagration.

What are those which with sandals of stone stand at the edge of one's house? The columns.

What is that which becomes pregnant in only one day? The spindle.

What is that which stands at the edge of the hearth, rising with a curve at the end? The dog's tail.

What is that which is filled with shields within? It is the chili; and its seeds are shields.

What is that which follows along the gorge, going clapping its hands? The butterfly.

What is the black stone standing on its head, resting listening to the land of the dead? It is the beetle.

Çağan tleino, excanpa ticalaquj, çan cecnj tiqujça. Ca tocamjsa.

Çağan tleino, comjicujltataca chiquj-lichtzatzitoc. Omjchicaoaztli.

Çağan tleino, omjicujlpapanpul otlica moquetzticac. Cacaxtli.

Çağan tleino, itlacoioctenpan ticmacujtiuetzi, tlalli ic ticquappitzoa. Ca ichoatl in iacacujtlatl.

Çağan tleino quauhtla calaquj nene-pilotiuh. Tepuztli.

Çağan tleino, tetlapantenco moquequetza quateconpol. Ecaoaztli.

Çağan tleino, vipiltitich. Tomatl.

Çağan tleino, ie oalqujça xicuj moteuh. Cujtlatl.

Çağan tleino, cueçali teiacana, caca-lin tetocatiuh. Tlachinolli

Çağan tleino, itetecac, tecaltenpan moquequetza. Tlaquetzalli.

Çağan tleino, ça cemjlhvilt otzti. Malacatl.

Çağan tleino, texcaltenpa moquetzticac pancololli. Chichicujtlapilli.

Çağan tleino, chimalli ijtíc tenticac. Ca chilli: auh ie in injachio chimalli.

Çağan tleino, tepetozcatl qujtoca momamatlaxcalotiuh. Papalotl.

Çağan tleino, tilitic tetl itzon jc icac, ontlacactoc mjctlan. Ca pinacatl.

Que cosa y cosa, que entramos por tres partes y salimos a vna parte. La camjssa.

Que cosa y cosa, que le rasan las costillas y esta gritando. Es el hueso que vsan en los areytos por sonajas.

Que cosa y cosa, que tiene las costillas de fuera y esta lleuantado en el camjno. Es el cacaxtli.

Que cosa y cosa, que lo tomas de presto de la boca de su agujero y arrojaslo en el svelo. Es son [sic] los mocos que se tomã de las narizes y se arrojan en el suelo.

Que cosa y cosa, que entra en la mōtaña y lleva la lengua sacada. Es la hacha.

Que cosa y cosa, esta arrimado al açotea el vellaco cabeça de olla. Este es la escalera que se arrima para subir al açotea.

Que cosa y cosa, camjssa muy apretada. Es el tomatl que tiene el cuero muy iusto y apegado a ssi [sic].

Que cosa y cosa, ya sale toma tu piedra. Es hazer camara.

Que cosa y cosa, van gujando las plumas coloradas que se llama cueçali y van tras ellas los cuervos. Es la chamosqujna de la çauanas.

Que cosa y cosa, tiene cotaras de piedra y esta lleuantado a la puerta de casa. Son los postes colaterales de la puerta.

Que cosa y cosa, que en vn dia se empreña. Es el huso con la maçorca.

Que cosa y cosa, esta lleuantado a la puerta y esta coruada le punta. La cola del perro.

Que cosa y cosa, que esta lleno de rodela. Es el chilli que esta lleno de semjlla de hechura de rodelitas.

Que cosa y cosa, que va por vn valle y va dando palmadas con las manos como la muger que haze pan. Es la mariposa que va volando.

Que cosa y cosa, piedra negra cabeça abaxo esta escuchãdo hazia el infierno. Es aquella sauandija que se llama pina-catl, que tiene el cuerpo negro, y siempre esta cabeça abaxo como quien esta escuchando hazia el infierno.

What is that which is a stone of red ochre which goes jumping? The flea.

What is that which is on round stones, standing singing? The olla for cooking maize in ashes.

What is that which is on the road which is biting one? It is the stone which we stumble over.

What is a tiny colored stone sitting on the road? Dog excrement.

What is that which is rounded above, which shakes, which cries out? The gourd rattle.

What are those things which, at their dancing place,¹ they give stomachs, they make pregnant? They are spindles.

Çačan tleino, tlatlahquj tetl cholo-
tiuh. Tecpi.

Çačan tleino, teticpac totolon cujcati-
cac. Nexcomjtl.

Çačan tleino, otlica tequatica. Ca
titotecujnja tetl.

Çačan tleino, otlica coatica paltetzo-
coton. chichi icujtl.

Çačan tleino, aco cujtlaiaoalli, movi-
vixoa tzatzi. Aiacachtli.

Çačan tleino, ineitotiaian qujtitique,
cotztique. Ca malacatl.

Que cosa y cosa, vna piedra alma-
grada va saltando. Es la pulga.

Que cosa y cosa, esta sobre piedras y
es redondo y esta cantando. Es la olla
quando se cuecen [sic] mahiz.

Que cosa y cosa, que esta en el
camjno y esta murdiendo. Es la piedra
en que tropezamos en el camjno.

Que cosa y cosa, esta en el camjno
asentada de hechura de tintero. lo que
el perro hecha.

Que cosa y cosa, que en lo alto es
redondo y varrigudo y esta bulliédose y
dando voces. Es la sonaja q̃ se llama
aiacachtli.

1. Read *inneitotiaian*. There is no Spanish text of this riddle.



Forty-third Chapter. Here are told some of the figures of speech called metaphors, which are subtle expressions; and their interpretations, their explanations.

THOU ROUGHENEST THE GREEN STONE;
THOU RENDEST THE PRECIOUS FEATHER

This saying is said of him who damages something very precious; who respects not what is worthy of respect: like those who, receiving the most Holy Sacrament, pay it no honor, humble themselves not, weep not, etc. Or some mere commoner dishonors some noblewoman. This saying is told him: "Thou hast roughened the green stone, thou hast rent the precious feather."

WHERE HAVE I PASSED OVER THE HAIR,
THE HEAD OF OUR LORD?

That is: "Have I perhaps offended our lord¹ in something, so that he afflicteth me?"

I PROTECT THY HAIR, THY HEAD

That is, [I do this] in order thus to admonish thee, to take care of thy honor so that nothing may defame it, so that no affliction may befall thee.

IT IS MY DRINK, IT IS MY FOOD

That is, it is my property, my goods, my sustenance.

MY HERON FEATHER, MY CORD JACKET

That is, when the city gave me a task, I thereby became a slave. If I should harm it, if I should endanger something, I should be imprisoned.

le vmpoalli omel capitulo, vncan mjtóa: cequj machiotlatolli, in jtoca methaphoras, in ohouj tlatolli: ioan in imelaoaca, in jcaqujztica.

TICTETEÇOA IN CHALCHIVITL,
TICOAOÇOA IN QUETZALLI:

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn ytla cenca tlaçotli qujtlaçoa, in cenca malhvilonj, in amo qujmalhvía; in juhquj iehoantin, in aqujque qujmoçelilia Sanctissimo sacramento in amo tlamaviztilia, in amo moçechteca, in amo choca. etc. in anoço aca çan maceoalli in cavilqujxtia aca civapilli: ilhviloia injn tlatolli. Oticteteço in chalchivtl, oticvaço in quetzalli.

CANJN MACH ITZONTLAN, IQUATLA
ONJQUJZ IN TOTEUJO:

qujtoznequj. Cujx itla ic onjnoioli-tlalcavli in toteujo: injc nechmotolinjlia.

MOTZONTLAN, MOQUATLA NJTLAPACHOA:

qujtoznequj: Injc iuh njmitznono-tza, y: ic njcmalhvía in moteio, injc amo tle ic avilqujçaz, injc amo tle tetolinj mopan muchioatiah.

CA NAUH, CA NOTLAQUAL:

qujtoznequj. Ca naxca, ca notlatquj, ca nonetlaiecoltiliz.

NAZTAUH, NOMECAICOL:

qujtoznequj. Injc onechtequjmacac in altepetl: ic njtlacauh onjnochiuh intla njqujtlaçoz, intla itla ic njcovitiliz: njctzacutiaz.

Capítulo. 43. de algunas methaphoras delicadas con sus declaraciones.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Dañas el lustre y graciosidad de la piedra preciosa y parasle como teçotli [*sic*] aspero y ahoiado: manoseas o desparpaxas o sobaxas la pluma rica. Esta metaphora se dize: quando alguno profana alguna cosa sancta o maltrata o deshonrra alguna persona honrrada o de gran valor. Como los que sin devida reuerençia resciben el sanctissimo sacramento: y tambien quando alguno deshonrra a alguna donzella.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Por uentura atrauese por sobre la cabeça del, estádo dormjendo, menospreciandole y tenjendole en poco? Esta methaphora dizē, los que se quexan de nro señor dios de que los maltrata o aflige demasiadamente: lo mjsmo dizen de alguna otra persona quexandose que le aflige iniustamente o sin razon.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Defiēdo que nadie pase por sobre tu cabeça estando dormjendo. Esta methaphora qujere dezir. Zelo y defiēdo tu honrra para que nadie la periudique.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Es mj comjda y mj beujda. Y por methaphora. Con esto gano de comer y de beuer.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Anme puesto vn penacho de esclauo y āme rodeado al cuerpo vna soga. Por methaphora qujere dezir. En este officio o cargo que me an dado anme hecho esclauo y sieruo de la republica o de las personas a qujen rijo o goujerno.

1. Read *totecuyo*.

THY HERON FEATHER, THY CORD JACKET
HAVE BEEN PLACED ON THEE
That is, the city hath made of thee
a slave.

I HAVE GIVEN THEE THY BANNER; I HAVE
GIVEN THEE THY SPOTTED PAPER

It is said when one is in his final
desperation, finally at the end. One
says to him: "I have given thee thy
banner; I have given thee thy spotted
paper."²

TOMORROW, THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW
It means the time toward which we
are going — a few days.

WHEN ALREADY THOU GOEST HELD
IN PRISON, IN BONDS

It means: "I can now advise thee.
But when already thou goest bound,
can I perhaps yet then be able to tell
thee something? Is it yet the propitious
time [to regard me] asquint, askance?"

This saying is said at a time when
one has been admonished many times,
has not listened, has paid no heed; and
already he is carried away, already he
goes bound. Thereupon he is ani-
mated; he is told this saying: "Thou
wilt not regard me asquint, askance; for
I have done my duty to thee."

ALREADY AT THE EDGE OF THE FIRE,
ALREADY AT THE STAIRWAY

This saying was said of those who
were about to be put to death, who
already had been brought up to die: or
they had already been placed at the
edge of the fire; it was time for them to
die. Well ahead of time had they been
admonished, so that to no one would
such befall.

ALREADY IN ANOTHER'S ENCLOSURE,
ALREADY IN THE ENTRANCE OF
ANOTHER'S HOUSE

With this saying were taught, with
this were admonished one's sons or the
common folk, in order that no one
might do the improper, that which was

MAZTAUH, MOMECAHICOL
OTITLALILLOLOC:

quitoznequj. Omizmotlacoati in
altepetl.

ONJMJTZPANTI,
ONJMJTZTETEHTI:

iquac mjtóa, in aca ça inxiuhtlatilco,
ça tlatzaccan quijlvia. Onjmjtzpanti,
onjmjztetehti.

IN MUZTLA, IN VIPTLA:

qujtoznequj: in ie vmpa titztivi, in
ça quezquijlvitl.

IN IE QUAUHTICA, IN IE MECATICA
TANOTIVI:

qujtoznequj. Axcampa njmjtzne-
machtia: auh in jquac ie tilpitiuh, cujx
vel oc vmpa itla njmjtzilvitiuh, cujx oc
imonequja ixtlapal nacacic.

Injn tlatolli: ipan mjtóa: in jquac
aca mjiecpa, ononotzaloc, amo oqujcac,
atle ipan oqujtac: auh ie ujco, ie ilpi-
tiuh: ic ellaquaoalo, ilvilo injn tlatolli.
Amo ixtlapal, amo nacacic tinechoalitz-
tiaz: ca movicpa onjnoqujxti.

IN IE TLECUJLIXQUAC,
IN IE TLAMAMATLAC.

Injn tlatolli intech mjtóaia, in aquj-
que in ie onmjctilozque in ie ontleca-
vilo, injc mjqujzque: anoço ie tlecujl-
ixquac ontlaliloque. ie inman in mj-
qujzque: vel achto ic tenemachtiloia,
injc aiac iuhquj ipan muchioaz in.

IN IE TECHINANTITLAN, IN
IE TEQUJIAOAC.

Injn tlatolli ic nemachtiloia, ic nono-
tzaloia in tepilhoan, anoço macehoalti:
injc aiac qujchioaz in amo chioalonj, in
tlein amo qualli: injc amo totocoz, injc

Habla otro con el que se le a dado
algun cargo de republica dizele Maz-
tauh momecaxicol omiztlalili in alte-
petl. Ate hecho su esclavo la republica.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Ete dado la
vanderilla que as de llevar a la muerte
y el papel q se llama teteujtl que se da
a los que an de matar por justicia y
aquella es señal que se despide ya deste
mundo. Por metaphora se dize del que
avisa a su amigo pa q se guarde de
algū vicio en que anda de que muchas
vezes le a aujsado. dizele Esta vez te
aujso y nūca mas te aujsare.

Estra letra qujere dezir mañana o es-
otro dia sera tal o tal cosa. Y por meta-
phora qujere dezir. En los t[iem]pos
que vendrá se hara o dira tal o tal cosa.

Dize esta letra. Quando estuujeres
en la carcel o estuujeres atado o presso
no te podre remediar o no tengas con-
fiança en mj que te tengo de fauorescer.
Por methaphora dize. El q muchas
vezes a aujsado a algun su amigo o hijo
o pariente para que se aparte de algun
vicio con que anda como es de hurto o
de adulterio: y despues a la postre ya
vee que no se qujere emendar dizele.
in ie quauhtica in ie mecatia tonotivh.
Como si dicesse Agora te aujso que te
emjendes porque despues que cayeres
en las manos de la iusticia no tengas
confiança que yo te tēgo de fauorescer.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Quando estu-
ujeres junto a la hoguera o al pie de la
horca te acordaras de lo q te aujsse. Por
methaphora qujere dezir. Muchas vezes
te aujsado [sic] que te emjendes y no
qujeres. al pie de la horca o junto a la
hoguera os pesara de no auer querido
rescebir mj consejo.

Dize esta letra. Por casas agenas y
por tierras estrañas y de puerta en
puerta andando vendras a escarmentar.
Por methaphora qujere dezir. Mira que
no hagas njgun peccado o crimen por
donde merezcas ser desterrado de tu
pueblo de tu tierra y andar por tierras

2. For *nimjtzpanti*, *nimjzteteuhtia* among a number of phrases, Olmos (*op. cit.*, p. 217) has "Encubro agora tu delicto, pero si no se emmiendas, a la otra vez lo pagaras todo."

bad; in order not to be driven forth, in order not to be forced to wander to others' enclosures, to others' house entrances. He was advised: "If thou dost something [evil], thou wilt be driven forth, thou wilt be made to wander in others' enclosures, in the entrances of others' houses. Also we tell thee: 'Thou wilt not wander to the city of another, nor canst thou longer dwell in thy city.'"

DISHEVELED, FILTHY. THOU HAST PRACTICALLY PUT HIS WIG ON HIM

This saying is said of one who affronts his ruler or his protector. Perhaps he publicly accuses someone; or else he is one who dishonors his father or his mother, who wishes not to live as his beloved father or grandfather lived. Thus he was chidden, he was told: "Thou hast practically put his wig on him," or, "Thou hast caused thy beloved father, or thy beloved grandfather, to live as if disheveled, filthy."

Likewise was told, was chidden one who affronted his beloved father, his beloved mother, or his ruler, his protector. He was told: "Stand not the ruler, or thy beloved father, or authority on his hair, on his head."

THE SNARE, THE TRAP LIE QUIVERING BEFORE AUTHORITY

This saying was said of one who accused one before the ruler, or of one who lived with the ruler. He was told: "Take care, for the snare, the trap lie quivering before authority," that is, in the presence of the ruler.

STREWN WITH SCORPIONS, STREWN WITH NETTLES.

This is said to him who accused one before, or who lived with, the ruler. He was told: "Take care, for the ruler is a castigator, as well as merciful."

DUSTY, FILTHY

This saying was said of one who became a ruler by deception, who competed by deception, or acquired abundance by deception. He was told: "Is the rulership thou hast gained, or the

amo techinantitlan, tequjiaoac monenemjtiz: ilviloia. Intla itla ticchioaz, ca titotocoz, ca techinantitlan, ca tequjiaoac timonemjitiuh: ca no iuh tiqjtoa. Amo teauh, tetepeuh ipan timonenemjtiz: aiocmo maltepeuh ipan tinemjz.

TZONPACHPUL, CUJTLANEXPUL: VEL ACHI ITZONCAL TICTLALILIA.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtia yn aqujn cavilquixtia in jtlatoauh, anoço itepachocauh: aço qujteixpavia: anoço in aqujn cavilquixtia ita, anoço, inan: in amo iuh nemjnequj, in juh nenca itatzin, anoço icol: ic aioia, ilviloia. Achi itzoncal tictlalilia, anoço: iuhqujn tzonpachpul, cujtlanexpul ticnemjtia in motatzin, anoço mocoltzin.

Ca no iuh ilviloia, ic aaloia: in aqujn cavilquixtia in jtatzin, inantzin: anoço in jtlatoauh, in jtepachocauh: ilviloia. Macamo itzonjc, iquavic xicquetza in tlatonj, anoço motatzin, anoço in petlatl, in jcpalli.

TZONVAZTLI, TLAXAPUCHTLI NEVIVIXTOC IN JXPAN PETLATL, ICPALLI.

Injn tlatolli, ilviloia: in aqujn ixpan moteilviaia tlatonj, anoço in aqujn itlan nemj tlatonj: ilviloia. Ximjmati: ca vncan neujuxtoc in tzonoaztli, in tlaxapuchtli in jxpan petlatl, icpalli: qujtoznequj: in jxpan tlatonj.

COLOIOTOC, TZITZICAZCOTOC:

ilviloia in aqujn moteilviaia ixpan tlatonj, anoço itlan nemj: ilviloia. Ximjmati: ca tetlatzacujltianj in tlatonj, ioan tetlaocolianj.

TEUHI, TLAÇOLLO.

Injn tlatolli: ipan mjtia in ichtecca tlatocati, in mochtaca tlaxtlavia, anoço ichtecca mocujltonoa: ilviloia Cujx qualli injc titlatocati, anoço timocujltonoa, anoço in tlein ticqua: ca çan teuh-

agenas como estrágero y peregrino fuera de tu natural.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Vellaco desgreñado suzio. Por methaphora se dize: de aquel que a hecho alguna afrenta o desobediencia a su padre o a sus mayores o a los que rigen en el pueblo y reprehendiendole le dizen tzōpachpul cujtlanexpul: Vellaco desvergüçado y suzio que afrentas a los tuyos o a los de tu pueblo o a tus mayores.

A los tales tambien les deziã ma amo ytzonjc yquaujc xicquetza y tlatoni. etc.

Dize esta letra. Es comparado al que anda cerca de vna sima o lazo o red o pozo que facilmente cayera dentro. Por methaphora qujere dezir. El que vive o conversa con los señores o reyes es comparado al que anda cerca de vna sima o pozo o lazo o red que facilmente cayera en algun gran delicto de donde no podra salir.

Dize esta letra. Esta lleno este lugar de alacranes y de hortigas o espinas o abrosos. Por methaphora dize. Andas em pleyto con el señor o delante del señor o juez mjra que andas en peligro porque andas entre alacranes y hortigas y abroios.

Dize esta letra. Esta lleno de poluo y de estiercol. Y por methaphora se dize. De los que an ganado el señorío que tienen o la hazienda que poseen con engaños o con mentiras y ansi les dizen tu hazienda o tu señorío no es

abundance thou hast acquired, or that which thou eatest, honorable? For the rulership, or the food which thou eatest, are dusty, filthy."

THEY ARE LOOKING SIDELONG AT THEE;
THEY ARE LOOKING AT THEE OUT
OF THE CORNER OF THE EYE

This saying is said of the great ruler or the great priest who rules, like the great cypress, the great silk cotton tree, because there can be confidence in him.

IN THE CLOUDS, IN THE MIST

This saying was said of the highly esteemed, the very great; of those never before seen, of those never before known, nor anywhere seen in times of yore. So here in all Mexico it was thus said that the Spaniards came emerging [from] within the clouds, within the mist. Or [it was said of] the highly esteemed, the very rich.

SMOKE, MIST; FAME, HONOR

This saying was said of some ruler not long dead, whose smoke, whose mist, had not yet vanished; that is, his honor, his glory; or someone who had gone far away, whose glory, whose honor had not yet vanished.

THE SEA, THE CONFLAGRATION

This saying was said when there befell a great war, or a great pestilence. It was said: "It is as if there came upon us, or there passed over us, the sea, the conflagration"—that is, pestilence or this same war.

THE OCELOT MAT, THE EAGLE MAT

It means, there live the strong, the brave, those no one can conquer. Thus it is said: "There lieth the eagle mat, the ocelot mat." And it is said: "There standeth the ocelot gate, the eagle gate with which standeth closed off the city"—that is, "the water, the mountain."

THE TAIL, THE WING

It means the commoner. Thus the commoners were called "tails, wings."

io, tlaçollo in tlatocaiotl: anoço tlaqualli in ticqua.

MITZOALIXTLAPALITZTICA,
MJTZOALNACAZITZTICA.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoa in vei tlatonj, anoço vei teupixquj: in juhquj vey avevetl, vey pochotl ic tlatocati: ichica ivicpa vel netemachilotoc.

MIXTITLAN, AIAUHTITLAN.

Injn tlatolli: itechpa mjtoaia, in cenca maviztique, in cenca veveintin: in aic oittoque, in aic oiximachoque, ano can ittoia in ie vecauh injc njcan cen mexico: ic mjtoaia. Ca mjxtitlan, aiauhitlan oqujçaco in Españoles: anoço aca cenca maviztique, cenca mocujl-tonoan.

POCTLI, AIAVITL: TĒIOTL, MAVIZIOTL:

Injn tlatolli: itechpa mjtoaia in aca tlatonj, aiamo vecauh omjc, aiamo polivi in jpocio, in jaiauhio: qujtoznequj: imavizço, itēio: anoço aca veca oia, aiamo polivi in jtēio, in jmavizço

TEUATL, TLACHINOLLI

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoaia: in vei iaooiotl muchioaia, anoço vei cocoliztli: mjtoaia. Otopan muchiuuh, anoço otopan onqujz: in juhquj teuatl, tlachinolli: qujtoznequj: cocoliztli, anoço vel iehoatl in iaooiotl.

OCELOPETLATL, QUAPPETLATL:

qujtoznequj: in vncan nemj chicaoque, in oapaoaque in aiaac vel qujnpeoa, ic mjtoa: vncan onoc in quappetlatl, in ocelopetlatl: ioā mjtoa: vncan icac in ocelotlatzacujllotl, in quauhtlatzacujllotl ic tzacuticac in altepetl: quitoznequj: in atl in tepetl.

CUJTAPILLI, YN AT LAPALLI,
qujtoznequj: maceoalli. Ic notzaloia in maceoalti cujtlapiltin, atlalaltin.

limpia o no es limpiamente ganada que esta llena de poluo y de estiercol de enganos [sic] y de hurtos. eta.

Dize esta letra. Tienen los ojos puestos en ti todos. Por metaphora quere dezir. Que los baxos y populares tienen esperanza de ser fauorescidos y abrigados de sus mayores y así dizen del mayor y del señor que los rige sea obispo o Arçobispo o Visorey Mitzoalixtlapalitztica mjtzoalnacazytztica. Señor todo el pueblo tienen puestos los ojos en vos como qujen los a de hazer mercedes y fauorescer en todo.

Quere dezir esta letra: de entre las nubes o de entre las njeblas o del cielo a venjdo. Por methaphora se dize: de alguna Persona notable que vino a algun lugar o reyno q̄ no le esperauā y haze gran prouecho a la republica: y por tanto dize la gēte mjxtitlan aiauhitlā oqujçaco que quere dezir. A uenjdo del cielo o de entre las nubes no esperado nj conocido.

Quere dezir esta letra. Au no [sic] se a deshecho el humo o la njebla del. Por methaphora quere dezir. Aun no se a perdido la memoria de su fama y de su loa dizesse de alguna persona muy querida que murio no a muchos dias. Aiamo polihuj yn jpocio yn jaiauhio. Aun esta reciente su memoria por el gran amor que le tenjā.

Quere dezir esta letra. El mar o la chamusquina vino sobre nosotros o paso sobre nosotros. Por metaphora se dize: de la pestilencia o guerra que quando se acaba dizē otōpā [sic] qujz in teuatl in tlachinolli. Paso sobre nosotros la mar y el fuego.

Esta letra quere dezir. Asiētos y estrados ay de tigres y agujas. Por methaphora quere dezir. Ay en este pueblo o en esta ciudad gēte de guerra soldados y hombres valientes que la guardan que muriran por su defension.

Esta letra quere dezir. Alas de aue y cola de aue. Y por methaphora dize. Ay gente popular y republica.

He who possesses the tail, he who possesses the wing.

INSIPID, INFRAGRANT

It was said of him who was ungrateful; perhaps a commoner was driven forth. He was told: "Go; leave the city, for the city considereth thee insipid, infragrant." Or some ruler was told: "Thou art regarded as insipid, infragrant."

THE SPINELESS, THE THORNLESS

[*Uitzio, auayo*] was said of some ruler, or of a nobleman, of one worthy of great honor. No one could draw very near to him; he was considered as a wild beast. Therefore it was said to one who held a ruler not in esteem: "Is it as if thou thinkest the ruler or authority to be thornless? Dost thou consider him to be spineless as thou goest bringing thy complaints before him? Perhaps the continuous complaints trouble the ruler greatly!"

SWEET, FRAGRANT

It was said of the city in which there was contentment, happiness; or it was said of the ruler who was a provider of happiness.

ONE'S HAIR, ONE'S NAILS, ONE'S SPINES,
ONE'S THORNS, ONE'S BEARD, ONE'S
EYEBROWS, ONE'S CHIP, ONE'S FRAGMENT³

It means the one born into the lineage of rulership, the status of nobility. And indeed he was also named "one's blood, one's color."

ONE'S EYE, ONE'S EAR

This saying was said of the messenger of the ruler, or of the messenger of a lord, who somewhere delivered the

Cujtlapille atlapalle.

IN ATZOPOLIC, IN AHAVIAC:

itechpa mjtóa, in aqujn amocnelilmatinj: aco totoco maceoalli, ilhviloia. Xijauh, xictlalcavi in altepetl: ca atzopelic, ca aavijac ipan ticmati in altepetl: anoço aca tlatoanj ilhviloia. Amo tiztopelic, amo taviac ipan timacho.

IN AVITZIO, IN AHAVAIO.

Ipan mjtóaia in aca tlatoanj, anoço pilli, cenca maviztililonj: aiac cenca vel itech acia: iuhqujn tequanj ipan machoia: ic ilviloia in amo tle ipan qujtta tlatoanj. Mach iuhquj aaoaio ipan ticmati tlatoanj, anoço petlatl icpalli: iuhqujn avitzio ipan ticmati, ixpan timoteilvitinemj. Aco muchipa moteilvia: cenca qujtequjpachotinemj in tlatoanj.

TZOPOLIC, AVIJAC.

Itechpa mjtóaia in altepetl: in vncan netlamachtilo, pacoa: anoço itechpa mjtóaia in tlatoanj, tepapaqujtianj.

TETZON, TEIZTI, TEVITZIO, TEAOAIO,
TETENTZON, TEIXQUAMUL, TETZICUEUHCA, TETLAPANCA:

qujtoznequj. In aqujn vncan tlatati tlatocamecaioipan, pilpan: ioan nel no motocaiotia: teeço, tetlapallo.

TEIX, TENACAZ.

Injn tlatolli ipan mjtóaia in tlatocatlantli, anoço tecutitlantli: in canapa concaoia tlatocatlatolli: ilhviloia in

Cujtlapille atlapalle. Esta letra qujere dezir. Aue que tiene alas y tiene cola Y por metaphora se dize. El señor o gouernador o rey que rige la republica.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Cosa desabrida cosa desgraciada. Y por methaphora dize. Del que destierrá del pueblo por desobediēte y ingrato a los que rigen dizenle desta manera. Vete del pueblo Ca atzopelic ca aujac ipā ticmati. Porque le tienes en poco y no le obedeces. Tambien se dize del señor que no es accepto a la republica. Amo tiztopelic amo taujac ypan timacho. Desabrido y desgraciado res [*sic*] a tu republica.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Cosa espinosa o escabrosa que no osan llegar a ella, por las espinas o cambrones que tiene. Y por methaphora qujere dezir. Persona venerable y digna de ser tenjda y acatada como son los señores y consoles que rigen la republica dizen dellos invitzio yaoaio. temjanlos a los tales como a bestia fiera.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Cosa dulce y sabrosa de comer. Y por methaphora se dize. Del pueblo o tierra que es deleytosa y abundosa dizen tal o tal lugar tal o tal tierra. tzopelic aujac.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Cabellos vñas espina o cambron barbas cejas estilla de piedra preciosa. Por methaphora se dize. Del que es noble o generoso o de linaje de señores hōbre o muger. Ca tetzon ca teizti teujtzyo tetentzon eta.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Cara y oreja de alguno. Y por methaphora se dize. De los embaxadores que lleuan las embaxadas de vnos señores a otros

3. Cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Florentine Codex*, Book X, "The People," pp. 19-21, 47-9; also Chap. 27, *supra*, n. 7.

word of the ruler. The messenger was told: "Although the very ruler could not come, it is thou who comest, thou who art the eye, the ear, the listener for the ruler, thou who art his spy."

ONE'S DEPUTY, ONE'S VICAR

This saying was said of the messenger of the ruler, or of the son of the ruler when his father died, for he had departed deputizing his son, who was acting as his vicar.

THAT WHICH CAN BE CARRIED, THAT WHICH CAN BE SHOULDERED, THAT WHICH GOETH ON ONE'S LAP, IN THE CRADLE OF THE ARMS

This saying was said of the common folk, the governable, the leadable. It was said: "The common folk, who cannot lead themselves, are put on one's lap, are borne, are shouldered, are led, are governed; they go in the cradle of one's arms."

HE HATH COME FORTH FROM ONE'S WOMB, FROM ONE'S THROAT⁴

This saying was said of him who issued from the lineage of the rulers.

HIS BREATH, HIS WORD

Precisely this saying was said of the words of the rulers. It was said: "The breath, the word of the ruler"; not [just] anyone's word; precisely the word, the breath of our lord.

I LAY BEFORE THEE THE LIGHT, THE TORCH, THE MODEL, THE MEASURE, THE WIDE MIRROR⁵

This saying was said of one who spoke as a nobleman to the common folk. He placed a very good discourse before the common folk. He said to them: "Before you I set up that which is like a torch, like a light. And I place before you that which is like a mirror. Or I give thee thy model, which is like thy measure; from it thou art to take

titlantli. Maço nel ivi in amo vel ichoatl ovalla tlatoanj: ca in tehoatl otioalla, ca tix, ca tinacaz, ca titlacacauh in tlatoanj, ca titlachixcauh

TEIXIPTLA, TEPATILLO.

Injn tlatolli: itechpa mjtóaia in tlatocatlantli: anoço in jpiltzin tlatoanj, in omjc itatzin: ca oqujmjxiptlatiteoac in jpiltzin, ca ipatillo muchiuhtica.

IN JTCONJ, IN MAMALONJ, IN TECUEXANCO, IN TEMAMALOAZCO IETIUH:

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtóaia in maceoalli, in pacholonj, in iacanalónj: mjtóaia: cuexanalo, itco, mamalo, iacanaló, pacholo, temamalvazco ietiuhtic in maceoalli: amo monomaiacana.

TEXILLAN, TETZCATLAN OQUJZ.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtóaia yn aqujn itech oqujz tlatocatlacamecaiotl

IHIJO, ITLATOL.

Injn tlatolli, vel itech mjtóaia in tlatoque intlatol: mjtóaia. Ihijotzin, itlatoltzin in tlatoanj, aiac ylatol, vel totecujo itlatoltzin, ihijotzin.

IN TLAVILLI, IN OCOTL, IN MACHIO TL, IN OCTACATL, IN COIAOAC TEZCATL: MJXPAN NJCMANA.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtóaia: in aqujn tecutlatóaia, in jvicpa maceoalli, in cenca qualli tlatolli ijxpan qujtlaliaia maceoalli: qujmjlviaia. Amjxpan njcquetza in juhquj ocutl, in juhquj tlavilli, ioan yn juhquj tezcacatl mjxpan njcmána, anoço njmjtzmaca in momachioh, in juhquj moctacauh, in jtech timomachiotiz, in jtech timjxcuj-

señores y donde lleuā la embaxada hazenles la mjsma honrra que harian al mjsmo señor y dizenle. Ca yx ca ynacaz.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Retrato y ymagen de alguno. Y por methaphora qujere dezir. El que succedio a otro en el oficio o el que en nombre de otro haze algo o el embaxador que va con embaxada o el hijo que succedio en el oficio a su padre y en las costūbres.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Carga que se a de llevar a cuestras. Y por methaphora qujere dezir. La republica que se a de regir como qujen los lleua a cuestras.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Salio de las entrañas y de la garganta. Y por methaphora qujere dezir. Persona generosa que viene de personas ylustres: qujere dezir tambien. La platica o oracion que haze el orador que le sale de las entrañas y de la garganta.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Su resuello o esp[irit]u o su palabra. Y dizesse por methaphora del razonamjento que haze el señor a sus principales o el predicador a sus oyentes.

Esta letra qujere dezir. lūbre y hacha encendida y dechado y modelo y espejo ancho. Por methaphora qujere dezir. Razonamjento que los principales hablan a los maceoales: y el sermon que el predicador predica y el buē exemplo de buena vida que alguno da.

4. In "Huehuetlatolli," pp. 45, 50, Garibay, for these terms, paired *seno* with *regazo* or *útero*; *entrañas* with *garganta*.

5. Cf. also León-Portilla, *op. cit.*, pp. 63ff.

thyself a model, thou art to take thyself an example, in order to live well, or in order to speak well."

THE COFFER, THE REED CHEST

This saying was said of one who guarded well the secrets, the entrusted words, or something evil which had occurred in his presence. To no one could he disclose it; he was indeed like a coffer, a reed chest. It was said he guarded well the words, or one's conduct.

HE BECOMETH A BEE; HE BECOMETH A WILD BEE

This saying was said of those who ate, who drank by the grace of the noblemen or of the city, or they were helped perhaps in that which they ate. Here they were told: "Brag not therefor; be not proud therefor, for thou merely becomest a wild bee, for thou merely becomest a bee. Thou dost suck the nectar by the grace of the city or of the ruler."

I MAKE THE ASH HEAP, THE CROSSROADS MY MOTHER, MY FATHER

This saying was said of the women, or of the men, who only remained somewhere on the road. Their mothers,* their fathers advised them in nothing. Just of their own accord they remained somewhere along the road, just of their own accord they betook themselves there.

I HEED NO MOTHER, I HEED NO FATHER

This saying was said of him who was admonished many times. He heeded not, he disregarded the discourse. So it was said: "He esteemeth not his mother, his father; he wisheth only to live for himself."

HIS FACE IS CAST DOWN: HIS TEETH ARE CAST DOWN

This saying was said of the ruler, or of the nobleman, who spoke not forthrightly, who said that which offended one exceedingly, that which it was not necessary to say. He was told: "Cease! Be prudent. Thou castest thy face down in public." It means: "Thou shamest thyself." And he was told: "Thou

tiz: injc vel tinemjz, anoço injc vel titlatoz.

TOPTLI, PETLACALLI:

Injn tlatolli itech mjtoia: in aqujn vel quipia in jchtacatlolli, piallatolli: anoço in jtla aqualli iixpan muchioaia: aiac vel qujnextiliaia, vel toptli, vel petlacalli: mjtoia. Vel quipia in tlatolli, anoço tenemjliz.

XICOTI, PIPHIOLTI.

Injn tlatolli: itech mjtoia in aquj-que inpallaqua, atli pipilti, anoço altepetl: aço motlauhtia, anoço in tlein qujqua: njcan ilviloia. Macamo ic ximopoa, macamo ic xatlamati: ca çan tipiphiolli, ca çan tixicoti titlachichina ipaltzinco in altepetl, anoço in tlatoanj.

NEXTEPEOALLI, OTLAMAXALLI NJCNONANTIA, NJCNOTATIA.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtoia in cioa, anoço oqujchti: î çan canjn otli ipan manaia, in amo tle qujmjlviaia in jnan-oan, in jntaoan: çan monomavia in campa vtlica manaia, çan monomaiaca-naia.

ANJTLANAMMATI, ANJTLATAMATI.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtoia: in aqujn nonotzalo mjiecpa, amo tlatlacamati, atle ipan qujtta in tlatolli: iuh mjtoia. Aiaca inan, aiaca ita ipan qujmati: çan ijollotlama nemjznequj.

MIXTLAÇA, MOTLANTLAÇA.

Injn tlatolli: itechpa mjtoia: in tlatoanj, in anoço pilli, in amo mellaoacatlatoa: in tlein cenca tepinauhti qujtoa, in amo monequj qujtoz: ilujloia. Ximocaoa, ximjmati: teixpan timjxtlaça: qujtoznequj: timopinahuhtia: ioan ilviloia: timocatzaoa, timjçolooa, tiqjtlacoa in monemjliz, in motlatol.

Esta letra qujere dezir Cofre Arca. Y por methaphora qujere dezir. Persona que guarda bien el secreto que le esta encomendado o persona muy callada.

Esta letra qujere dezir Aueja o avexon que coge mjel de las flores. Y por methaphora dizese: del que es combidado muchas vezes para comer con los principales.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Es mj madre y mj padre el muladar y camjno horcaxado. Por methaphora se dezia esto de las malas mugeres que se dauan por ay a qujenqujera, o de los hombre [sic] viciosos con muchas mugeres dezian de los tales que eran muladar camjno horcaxado.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Ni haze caso de su madre nj de su padre como si no los tuujesse. Y por methaphora se dize, de los que no obedecen nj reuerencian a los que rigen el pueblo o republica.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Arrojar en el suelo la cara y los diētes. Y por methaphora se dize. De las personas venerables que dizē o hazen alguna cosa yndigna de sus personas dezianla mjxtlaça motlantlaça. Qujere dezir. Confundese y averguençase a si mjsmo.

6. Read *innanuan*.

dirtiest thyself, thou dishonorest thyself; thou harmest thy life, thy speech."

HE BRINGETH FAME UPON HIMSELF;
HE BRINGETH RENOWN UPON HIMSELF

This saying was said of him who did that which was very estimable, perhaps [in] warfare, or that which is well made. Thus it was said: "He hath brought fame upon himself, he hath brought renown upon himself. Already he goeth making illustrious his fame, his renown, his esteem, his glory."

HE ESTEEMETH HIMSELF;
HE HONORETH HIMSELF

This saying was said of him who was not much in making friends by talking, and who treasured his words exceedingly. He did not demean himself with others either by laughter or by joking. Hence it was said: "He esteemeth himself greatly; he honoreth himself exceedingly."

[CAN SHE BE PLACED] PERCHANCE
IN A COFFER, IN A REED CHEST?

This saying was said of women who could not be well guarded. Perhaps they had done evil, or perhaps they did no evil. Hence it was said: "Perhaps they have done evil; perhaps not. [Can they be placed] perchance in a coffer, in a reed chest? What is like gold is in its reed chest; it is in its coffer; it is that which can be guarded. But the woman is not comparable; she is not that which can be well guarded."

LIKE A PRECIOUS GREEN STONE, LIKE
A PRECIOUS TURQUOISE, PERFECTLY
CYLINDRICAL, WELL ROUNDED

This saying was said of one who made pronouncements, who admonished one very well. It was said: "He spoke very wonderfully; it was like a precious green stone, like a precious turquoise." The discourse which was heard was like a perfectly cylindrical, well-rounded precious green stone.

[PRECIOUS STONES] ARE SPREAD,
SCATTERED

This saying was said of him who admonished one very well, who made pronouncements. And when he admonished one, then it was said of the admonisher, in order that he be thanked

MOTEIOTIA, MJTAUHCAIOTIA.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in aqujn tlein qujchíoa cenca maviztic: aco iaiotl, anoço in tlein qualli tlachioalli: ic mjtóaia. Onmoteioti, onmjtauhcaioti: ie cacaoantíuh in jteio, in jtauhca, in jmavizio, in jtleio.

MIXTILIA, MOMAVIZTILIA.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóa: in aqujn aic cenca moteicnjúhtia tlatoltica: ioan cenca qujtlaçotla in jtlátol, amo tetlan mavilqujxtia: aco vetzqujztica, anoço camanaloliztica: ic ilviloia. Cenca mxtilia, cenca momaviztilia.

CUJX TOPIO, CUJX PETLACALLO.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóa in cioa, in amo vel mopia: in aco otlátlaco, acanoçomo tlatlacoa: ic mjtóaia. Aco otlátlaco, acanoçomo: cujx topio, cujx petlacallo: ca in juhquj teocujtlatl, ca vnca ipetlacallo, oncatquj itopio, vel pialonj: auh in cioatl camo iuhquj, camo vel cenca pialonj.

VEL CHALCHIUHTIC, VEL TEUXIUHTIC,
VEL ACATIC, VEL OLOLIUHQUJ.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in aqujn cenca vel tecutlató, tenonotza: mjtóaia. Cenca maviztic injc otlato: iuhqujn chalchivítl, iuhqujn teuxivítl: in juhquj chalchivítl, vel acatic, vel ololiuhquj, in omocac tlatolli.

ONTETEPEOAC, ONCHACHAIAOAC.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in aqujn cenca vel tenonotza, tecutlató: auh in jquac ontenonotz: njman ilviloia in tenonotzanj, injc icnelilmachioia, in jquac ontenonotz. Onmotlamachti

Qujere dezir esta letra. gana honrra y fama para si mjsmo. Dizese de los que hazen valentias en la guerra y obras loables entre le gente que viue.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Estimase honrrase. Dizese de aquellos que mjrán mucho por su honrra así en las palabras como en las obras que nj dizen cosa de dōde les venga deshonrra o verguença.

Esta letra qujere dezir. No es cosa que se pueda guardar en cofre o en arca. Por methaphora se dize. De las moças que por no estar en casa encerradas cayen en manos de qujen las deshonrra: y diziendo a sus padres: esto a hecho vuestra hija Responde. Cujx topio cujx petlacallo Qujere dezir: ella se tiene la culpa que yo no la puedo meter en arca o en cofre.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Finos chalchijtes finos safiros muy bien labrados, vnos largos otros redōdos. Por methaphora qujere dezir. hizo vna plastica o vn sermon como finas piedras preciosas muy primamente labradas.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Derramaronse esparcieronse piedras preciosas. Por methaphora se dize, del que predico muy bien, o del que oro entre los senadores y señores dizen del. Ontetepeoac onchachaiaoac. Piedras preciosas hecho por aquella boca.

when he had admonished one: "The common folk have rejoiced; they have become rich; that which is much like precious green stones hath been spread, hath been scattered,"⁷ etc.

THOU HAST REJOICED, THOU HAST
BECOME WEALTHY. IT HATH BEEN PAID;
THE DEBT HATH BEEN PAID BY MEANS
OF THY MOTHER, THY FATHER

This saying was said of many of the common folk; also it could be said of a single person. When they had been admonished, they were told: "Thou hast rejoiced, thou hast become wealthy, thou who art a common person. It hath been paid; the debt hath been paid by means of thy mother, thy father, the city." Or: "Thou hast heard the justice, that is, the discourse."

HE STRIKETH OFF OBSIDIAN [POINTS];
HE STRAIGHTENETH ARROW SHAFTS

This saying was said of him who went about hating one, fighting against one; who went about saying: "In what way can I do harm to him?" Diligently he went about seeking, doing that which would cause evil to one.

HE HATH SPREAD, HE HATH SCATTERED
THINGS ON THE REED MAT,
ON THE REED SEAT

It means, when someone complained of injustice before the ruler, perhaps merely because of something the ruler was offended by the commoner. It was said: "The commoner hath spread, hath scattered things before the ruler." It means that he had offended, he had troubled the ruler.

SHE SHATTERED IT; SHE BROKE IT

This saying was said of a nursemaid or of a midwife. If at some time some nobleman gave his child to a qualified woman to suckle and the baby just died, it was thus said: "She shattered it; she broke it." Or of a midwife, when she would cure [the child], if it just died in her care, it was said: "Thou hast shattered it;⁸ thou hast broken it."

onmocujltono in maceoalli: ontetepeac,
onchachaiaoc in vel chalchiuhtic. etc.

OTONMOTLAMACHTI, OTONMOCUJLTONO:
ONPOPOUH, ONJXTLAUH INJC
MONANTZIN, INJC MOTATZIN.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoaia in maceoalti in mjequjntin: no uel itechpa mjttoaia in ça ce tlatat: in jquac onnotzaloque, ilviloia. Otonmotlamachti, otonmocujltono in timaceoalli: onpopouh, onjxtlahuh injc monantzin, injc motatzin in altepetl, anoço in iusticia otoconcac, qujtoznequj, tlatolli.

ITZVITEQUJ, ACAMELAOA.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoaia: in aqujn tecocolitinemj, tevecicotinemj: in qujtotinemj. Quenjn njcchioaz in tlaelilloc: cenca tlatemotinemj, tetlachichivilitinemj in tlein tetehtcopa, tevicpa muchioaz amo qualli.

ONTLATEPEUH, ONTLACHAIAUH
IN PETLAPAN, IN JCPALPAN:

qujtoznequj: in jquac aca moteilvia ijxpan tlatoanj, aço çan itla ic omoio-litlaco in tlatoanj, itechpa maceoalli: mjttoaia. Ontlatepeuh, ontlachaiauh in maceoalli, in jxpan tlatoanj, qujtoznequj: oqujmoliitlcalvi, oqujtequjpa-cho in tlatoanj.

ONTLAXAMANJ, ONTLAPOZTEC.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoaia: in chichioa, anoço ticitl, in jquac tla aca pilli ipiltzin qujchichitia ce tlatat cioatl: auh çan oommjc in piltontli: ic mjttoaia. Ontlaxamanj, ontlapuztec: anoço ticitl, in çan jmac ommjquj, in jquac qujpatiznequja: ilviloia. Otontlaxamj, otontlapuztec.

Dize esta letra. Aste gozado aste enriquezido, a pagado a hecho el deuer tu madre y tu padre el pueblo, o regimjento o senado. Por methaphora se dize. En la conclusion de alguna oñon que auja hecho algun orador al pueblo deziēdo. Otonmotlamachti otonmocujltono etc. Qujere dezir. Todos los que aqujstays aveys oydo cosas preciosas y cosas ricas para vña consolacion porque el pueblo o los senadores o regimjeto por ser vña madre y vño padre a hecho su deuer para con vosotros a pagado lo que concierne a padre y madre.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Labra casqujillos de saetas de piedras de nauajas endereça cañas de saetas para tirar. Por methaphora se dize: del que aborresce a alguno y busca maneras para le dañar o le matar.

Dize esta letra. derramo y derroco en los estrados. Por methaphora se dize: del que hizo alguna iniuria o desacato al señor o a los senadores en juyzio por donde el señor y los senadores se enojarō del: y dizen Ontlatepeuh ontlachaiauh in petlapan in jcpalpan qujere dezir. Este majadero enojo a los señores con sus palabras mal mjradas.

Esta letra qujere dezir: quebrāto o hizo pedaços o rraxo cosa preciosa. Y por methaphora se dize: del medico que curaua algun hijo o hija de persona notable y murio por no le curar bien. Tambien se dize: de la ama que criaui a algũ njño hijo de alguna persona notable y por su descuydo se le murio: entonce dizen ontlaxamj.

7. Read ontetepeuac.

8. Read otontlaxamani.

HE LINKETH PEOPLE; HE PLACETH
PEOPLE IN ORDER

It means: when one knew very well the genealogies of noblemen, it was said of him: "He linketh the people well; he placeth them in order." And it was said of him who was a nobleman, an esteemed nobleman; he was called one's jewel, one's precious feather, one's beloved son.

ANOTHER'S SONG, ANOTHER'S WORDS

It means the one who spoke words not his own — perhaps the words of the old men, the words of the noblemen; but a mere commoner, if he took it upon himself to talk, was told: "Are these perchance thy words, thy song, which thou utterest? What thou utterest is not necessary."

BABYISHNESS, CHILDISHNESS,
BESOTTEDNESS, DRUNKENNESS

This saying was said of work not well done or of inelegant speaking, or of work well done, of elegant speaking, but as if in humility. When one did something well or spoke well, he did not say: "I did it very well," or, "I spoke well"; he just said: "I have performed, or I have said a thing of babyishness, of childishness, of besottedness, of drunkenness; or of folly, of imperfection. It may be that I perform, that I speak thus; perhaps it is not so."

I DO THE SWEEPING, THE
GATHERING OF RUBBISH

This saying was said of service or of errands for the city or for the temple. Thus was it said: "Just the sweeping, just the gathering of rubbish, before our lord or the city, is done."

I PRODUCE IT INCORRECTLY; I CAUSE
IT TO BE HEARD INCORRECTLY⁹

This saying was said of one when one laid a complaint before the ruler, if

TEÇO, TEVIPANA:

qujtoznequj: in aqujn cenca vel qujntecpancamati pipilti: ic mjtoia. Vel teço, tevipana. Ioan mjtoia, in aqujn pilli, tlaçopilli: moteneoaia: te-cozquj, tequetzal, tepiltzin.

TECUJC, TETLATOL:

qujtoznequj: in aqujn amo itlatol qujtoia, aço vevetlatolli, pillatolli: auh çan maceoalli in qujmotlatoltia, ilhvi-loia. Cujx motlatol, kujx mocujc in tiqujtoa: ca amo monequj in tiqujtoz.

PIPILLO, COCONEIO, IVINCAIUTL,
XOCOMJCCAIUTL:

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtoia in amo vellachioaliztli, anoço amo vellatoliztli, anoço vellachioaliztli, vellatoliztli in çan juhquj necnomatiliztli, in jquac aca vel itla qujchiao, anoço vellatoa: amo qujtoia in aqujn. In cenca vel onconchiuh, anoço vel onjtlato: çan qujtoa. Onconchiuh, anoço onconjto in pipilotl, in coconeiotl, in jvincaiutl, xocomjccaiutl: anoço in chocholocaiutl, in aaccaiotl: in aço iuhquj, in acanoçomo iuhquj in njchiao, anoço njqujtoa.

TLACHPANALIZTLI,
TLACUJCUJLIZTLI NJCCHIOA.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in tlatequjpanoliztli, anoço netitlanjiztli itechpa altepetl, anoço in teupan: ic mjtoia. Çan tlachpanaliztli, çan tlacujcujliztli muchioa yn jxpantzinco in to-tecujo, anoço altepetl.

AVMPA NJCQUJXTIA,
AVMPA NJCNACAZTIA.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in jquac aca moteilviaia ijxpan tlatoanj:

Dize esta letra: ensarta ordena. Por methaphora se dize: de los que estan diestros en contar las genealogias o successiones de la gente principal y en narrar sus obras y sus grandezas como diciendo. N. es hijo de N. y njeto de N. eta. su bisabuelo de N. hizo tal o tal hazaña deste se dize vel teço vel teujpana: muy bien sabe o muy bien cuenta los linajes de los principales.

Esta letra qujere dezir: dize palabras y cantares agenos que alguno se los enseño. Por methaphora qujere dezir: habla no de su boca sino de cabeça agena, no lo que el penso sino lo que le enseñaron como a tordo.

Dize esta letra: muchacharrias njñerias borracherias. Por methaphora dizelo de si: el que a hecho vna oracion buena y de buena manera, y al cabo dize humjllándose: e dicho muchacharrias y njñerias y vorracherias o desbarates sin orde [*sic*] y sin concierto. Tambien dize esto mjismo alguno que qujere mal a otro por afrontarle y por abatirle.

Dize esta letra: varrer y amontonare el estiercol. Por metaphora dizen esto: los que se ofrecen a serujr y obedecer en la casa de Dios o en la casa de los señores pa dezir serujre y trabajare en la casa de tal dios o en la casa de tal señor: dezian tlachpanaliztli tlacujcujliztli njcchioaz.

Dize esta letra: no enderece bien lo que dixe nj lo ordene bien. Esto dize de si humjllándose, el que a hecho alguna oñon o platica delante de al-

9. *Aompa monacaxtia* and *yn aompa quica*, among a number of phrases, Olmos, *op. cit.*, p. 226, uses for "Maluado, suzio, perverso que no toma consejo."

it was only a falsehood with which the accusation was made and later the ruler was thereby embarrassed. Later it could be heard wherefore the ruler was much embarrassed, so that it was said: "The commoner hath greatly embarrassed the ruler. He hath produced it incorrectly; he hath caused it to be heard incorrectly." It means what he did not correctly hear, what he did not correctly see.

DRIVEL, SLAVER

This saying means falsehood, untruth. It was said of him who was ruler or nobleman, who could always believe or listen to falsehood. Hence the liar was told: "Do not repeat drivel, slaver, before the ruler. Consider it well; examine it well."

And the ruler was told: "Do not listen, O ruler, to the drivel, the slaver. Consider well, hear well the words. Why dost thou take — dost thou grasp — the falsehood?"

THE TORMENT ALREADY INCREASETH; ALREADY IT COMETH FORTH HERE

It means: "My heart, my body go in great torment. I am stricken by poverty. Nothing is my food, nothing my rags."

THERE IS THE GRIPPING, THE PRESSING TOGETHER, OF ONE WITH ANOTHER

This saying is said of the noblemen or the rulers who help one another, who love each other much. Thus it is said: "The noblemen, the rulers hold, press one another together."

IMPRUDENCE, FOOLISHNESS

It means the one who is not prudent, not well spoken; who does not well that which he is given as a task, who lives in imprudence, in foolishness.

BE YET WEALTHY, BE YET PROSPEROUS!

This saying is said of him who is highly esteemed or who is prosperous. There is what he drinks; [he is] one who eats. Thus it is said to him: "Be yet wealthy, be yet prosperous by the grace of our lord, the lord of the near, of the nigh."

intla çan iztlacatiliztli, ic ixpan onetelviloc: auh çatepan, ic pinauhtilo in tlatoanj: çatepan vel mocaquj, ic cenca pinaoaia in tlatoanj: ic mjttoaia. In maceoalli, cenca oqujpinauhti in tlatoanj, in avmpa oqujxti, in avmpa oqujnacazti: qujtoznequj: in amo melaoac oqujcac, in amo melaoac oqujtac

IZTLACTLI, TENQUALACTLI

Injn tlatolli, iehoatl qujtoznequj in jztlacatiliztli, in amo neltiliztli: itechpa mjttoaia in aqujn tlatoanj, anoço pilli, in çan muchi vel qujneltoca, anoço qujcaquj yn jztlacatiliztli: ic ilviloia in jztlacatinj. Macamo iztlactli, tenqualactli ixiqijto, in jxpan tlatoanj: vel xic-temo, vel xiqujtta:

ioan ilviloia in tlatoanj. Macamo xicmocaqujti tlatoanje, yn jztlacatli, in tenqualactli: ma vel xicmottili, ma vel xicmocaqujti in tlatolli: tleica in ticuj: in ticana iztlacatiliztli.

IE ONTIMALIHVI, IE

VMPA ONQUJÇA IN TONEVIZTLI:

qujtoznequj. Cenca toneoatinemj in noiollo, in nonacaio: atle notech monequj, atlei in notlaqual, atlei in notzotzoma.

NETLOC, NENAOAC NETZITZQUJLO, NEPACHOLO.

Injn tlatolli: itechpa mjttoa in pipilti, anoço tlatoque, in monepanpalevia, cenca motlaçotla: ic mjttoa. Netloc, nenaoc motzitzquja, mopachoa in pipiltin in tlatoque.

ANEZCALICAOTL, XOLOPICAOTL,
qujtoznequj: in aqujn amo muzcalia, amo vellatoa, amo vel qujchioa in tlein tequjtilo: ipan nemj in amo nezcalicaotl, in xolopicaotl.

OC XONMOTLAMACHTI, OC XONMOCUJLTONO.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoa: in aqujn cenca mavizti, anoço mocujltonoa, vnca quj quanj: ic mjttoa in jtechpa. Oc xonmotlamachti, oc xonmocujltono ipaltzinco in totecujo, in tloque, naoaque.

gunos: y si lo dize de otro, dizelo por uja de reprehension notandole de necio. Tambié se dize del que acuso a otro con falsedad en iuyzio.

Esta letra qujere dezir: es escupidura o gargaxo. Y por methaphora qujere dezir. Mentira o falsedad.

Esta letra qujere dezir: Glorificase y enseñorease la pobreza hasta alli puedo llegar. Y por methaphora qujere dezir: tengo estremada pobreza en todo.

Qujere dezir esta letra: estan asidos los vnos con los otros. Y por methaphora qujere dezir: estan en paz y qujerense bien los vnos a los otros, y tratanse bien.

Esta letra qujere dezir: necedad o tocheria: dizesse de lo que haze la gente baxa y de poco entendimiento.

Qujere dezir esta letra: desseo que gozes de prosperidad y riqueza: o ruego a dios que te haga prospero y rico.

THE VERY BROAD, THE DEEP GREEN
PRECIOUS FEATHER

This saying was said of that with which the ruler, or nobleman, or magistrate admonished one well. He who was admonished was told: "Grasp the discourse, the very broad, the deep green, like a precious feather. The lord, the ruler, hath shown thee mercy."

HE WHO GOETH SMOKING,
WHO GOETH BURNING

This saying was said of him who was of very firm speech as he admonished one; and the words hurt one; he spoke not gently. And everyone was sore afraid; no more did one speak aloud; everyone heard him very well.

THOU ART A CYPRESS, THOU ART A SILK
COTTON TREE. BENEATH THEE, THE
COMMON FOLK WILL SEEK THE SHADE;
THEY WILL SEEK THE SHADOW

This saying is said of the rulers who are esteemed like cypresses, like silk cotton trees. Beneath them there is seeking of the shade, beneath them there is seeking of the shadows.

THY RAMPART, THY REFUGE

This saying was said of those who served perhaps as a steward, or as a judge, or as a ruler, as a nobleman who governed the common folk. Like their ramparts, their refuge was he; he provided a rampart, he provided a refuge, for that which might befall the common folk first befalls the ruler or the nobleman.

ALREADY IN THE BONDS, ALREADY IN
THE STOCKS OF OUR LORD, WHEN THOU
ART ONLY A MOUTHFUL OF DIRT,
ONLY A FACE OF DIRT

This saying is heard concerning sickness, because it is as if our lord bound us. For this reason it was said: "Be yet happy, be yet joyful; drink, eat yet. Wilt thou perhaps later eat—tomorrow, the day after—when sickness will have laid hold of thee, will have seized thee; when thou art already in the stocks, in the bonds of our lord, when thou who art only a mouthful of dirt, only a face of dirt, liest in the grasp of sickness?"

IN VEL PATLACAC, IN VEL
XOPALEOAC QUETZALLI.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoaia: in vel tenonotza tlatonj, anoço pilli, anoço tecutlato: jliviloia, in aqujn nonotzalo. Ma xoconcu in tlatolli, in vel patlaoac, in vel xopaleoac; in juhquj quetzalli: omjtzmocnelili in tlatl, in tlatonj.

IN POPOCATIUH, IN
CHICHINAUHTIUH.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoaia: in aqujn cenca chicaoac tlatolli ic tenonotza, ioan tecoco tlatolli, amo çan ivian tlatoa: ioan cenca muchi tlatl mo-mauhtia, aocac naoati, cenca muchi tlatl vel qujcaqua.

TAVEVEL, IN TIPOCHOTL, MOTLAN
MOCEOVALHVIZ, MOIACALHVIZ IN
MACEOALLI.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoa in tlatoque: juhquj[n] avevetl, pochome ipan povi: intlan neceovalvilo, intlan neiecalvilo.

MOTENAN, MOTZACUJL.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoaia in tlatequjpanoa: aço calpixcati, aço achcauhti, anoço tlatonj, pilli, in qujpa-choa maceoalli, juhquj in jntenanoan, intzacujlhoan, qujtenantia, qujtzacujlia: ichica achtopa ipan muchioa in tlatonj, anoço pilli: in tlein ipan muchioazquja maceoalli.

IN IE IMECAC, IN IE IQUAVIC IN
TOTEUJO, IN ÇA TICAMATLALPUL,
IN ÇA TIXTLALPUL.

Injn tlatolli, itech mocaquj in cuculiztli: iehjca ca iuhqujn techmolpilia totecujo: ipampa in mjttoa. Oc xompaquj, oc xonmotlamachti, oc xonatli, oc xontlaqua. Cujx qujnquac toconquaz, in muztla, in viptla, in omjtzonan, in omjtzontzitzquj cocoliztli, in ie iquauj, in ie imecac totecujo, y ça tixtlalpul, y ça ticamatlalpul tonoc, imac cocoliztli.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Plumaxe rico, y de perfecta color. Y por methaphora qujere dezir. Oraciõ o platica elegante y sentida muy bien cõpuesta.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Va humeando y ardiendo. Por methaphora se dize: de aquel que habla o haze alguna oñon o platica de reprehension con mucha argullo [sic] y valiente voz, de manera que causa temor a los que lo oyen.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Eres Cedro, y Arbol de gran sombra q̃ se llama puchotl. Por methaphora se dize: de qualquiera señor o principal que es liberal, y consoela y fauoresce a todos sus basallos. Tambien se dize esto: de las otras personas liberales y que fauorescen a los pobres.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Tu muro y tu pared. Y por methaphora se dize: del señor o principal que defiende y zela a sus basallos, para que no sean maltratados de alguno y se pone por ellos a qualquiera riesgo y así del se dize. Ca totenan ca totzacujl: es nño muro es nño amparo.

Esta letra qujere dezir: quando estuujeres en el cepo, o atado con la soga: qujere dezir. esto, he dicho que te a hecho ajsandote pon lo por obra luego y no esperes quãdo ya estuujeres en el cepo o atado con la soga. Y por methaphora qujere dezir: pues que agora estas bueno y rezio y comes y beues emjenda tu vida y no esperes a quãdo estuujeres emfermo y muy cercano a la muerte quando tuujeres la cara como tierra y la boca llena de tierra quando ya estuujeres puesto en el cepo y atado con la soga de la muerte.

THOU GOEST ABOUT PANTING,
BEATING THE BREAST, AS IF

THOU HADST DRUNK JIMSON WEED

It was said of him who no longer wished to listen to admonition, who was as if drunk, as if he had eaten jimson weed. In his living, no longer did he remember that of which he had been admonished. Because of this, the imprudent one was chidden; he was told: "Why hast thou eaten it? Why hast thou tasted it? No longer can it abandon thee. No more will it leave thy heart. No more dost thou take, grasp the words."

THOU GOEST DRIVEN BY THE WAVES;
THOU GOEST CARRIED BY THE WINDS

This saying was said of him who just went about here and there, who could nowhere settle down, nowhere found a home; he only went from house to house. He was told: "What dost thou? What makest thou? It is as if thou goest carried by the winds, driven by the waves. Settle down just by thyself. Do not go about here and there."

THOU HAST MADE THYSELF INTO A
RABBIT; THOU HAST MADE THYSELF
INTO A DEER

This saying was said of him who no longer lived at home, who no longer obeyed his father, his mother. He just fled when they found it necessary to admonish him. He just went wandering about somewhere; he no longer settled at his home; he just passed the days somewhere else; he just went to sleep somewhere. He became like a rabbit; he became like a deer. Hence such a one was told: "Thou hast made thyself into a rabbit; thou hast made thyself into a deer. Thou hast made thyself a fugitive; thou hast hardened thyself. Thou hast taken to the road of the rabbit, the road of the deer."

FOR PERHAPS A MOMENT, FOR PERHAPS
A DAY [ONE LIVETH] BY THE
GRACE OF OUR LORD

This saying was said of him who governed, who ruled. Thus was he besought, encouraged, animated. He was told: "Show yet honor to our lord. Perhaps there is still a day, still a moment on our lord's earth. But perhaps already there come here the stones, the clubs, that is to say, sickness, or

IN TICICATINEMJ, IN TIMELTZOTZONTI-
NEMJ: IN JUHQJ MJXITL, IN JUHQJ
TLAPATL OTIQUIC.

Itechpa mjtioia: in aqujn aiocmo qujcaqujznequj tenonotzaliztli: ca iuhquj in ma tlaonquj, ma tlapatl oqujqua: inje nemj: aiocmo qujlnamijquj in tlein ic nonotzaloia: ipampa inje aioia, in amo muzcalia: ilviloia. Tlein mach oticqua, tlein mach oticpapalo: aioc vel mjtzcacoa, aiocmo qujtialcavia in moiollo: in aiocmo ticcu, ticana in tlatolli.

IN TAMOIAOATINEMJ;
IN TECATOCOTINEMJ.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtioia: in aqujn çan qujqujztinemj, in acan velatzicoa, acan vel muchantlalia: çan cacalactinemj: ilviloia. Tlein tai, tlein ticchioa: in juhquj tecatocotinemj, timamoiauhtinemj, çan cecnj ximotlali: macamo xiqujqujztinemj.

IN OTITOCHTIAC,
IN OTIMAÇATIAC:

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtioia: in aqujn aiocmo ichan nemj, aiocmo qujtacamatl in jtatzin, in jnantzin: ça choloa, in jquac qujnonotzaznequj: ça campa qujqujztinemj, aiocmo ichan motlalia, ça canpan çeçemjlvitia, ça canpan cocochtinemj: iuhqujn tochtli omuchiuh, maçatl omuchiuh: ic ilviloia in aqujn. Otitochtiac, otimaçatiac, otimochocholti, otimoquaquaquauhti: oticnamje in tochtli iovi, in maçatl iovi.

AÇO CUEL ACHIC, AÇO
CEMJLHVITL IN JPALTZINCO
IN TOTECUJO.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtioia in aqujn tlatocati, tepachoa: ic tlatlauhtiloia, ic chicaoaloia, ellaquaoalo: ilhvilioia. Oc xocontlamaviçalhvi in totecujo: açoc cemjlvitl, açoc cuel achic in jtalitpac-tzinco in totecujo: auh anoço ie njz vitz in tetl in quavitl: qujtoznequj: cocoliztli, anoço temuxtli, in checatl, anoço

Esta letra quiere dezir. Andas aze-zando y dandote palmadas en el pecho como hombre que a comjdo beleños. Por metaphora se dize: de aquel que siendo traujesso y desbaratado en su viujr, siendo coregido no se quiere emendar: y a este tal dizenle, que as beujdo que as comjdo que njngun bien cosejo [sic] rescibe tu coraçon.

Quiere dezir esta letra andas hon-deando en el agua o a las ondas del agua te traen daca paralla y el viento te lleua de aca para alla. Por metha-phora se dize esto, de qualquiera per-sona desassosegada que anda de casa en casa o de tianquez en tiãquez o de calle en calle reprehendiendole o por uja de reprehension.

Quiere dezir esta letra: aste hecho conejo aste hecho cieruo. Por metha-phora se dize: de aquel o de aquella que se van de casa de su padre, y andan de pueblo en pueblo o de tianquez en tianquez, nj qujeren obedecer a sus padres nj estar en su casa, y reprehendiendoles dizen: otitochtiac otimaçatiac: aste hecho como conejo y como Cieruo, que a nadie obedeces.

Esta letra quiere dezir. Por uentura vn dia o algun poco de tiempo te dara de vida nuestro señor: goza della. Tam-bien por methaphora se dize, del señor que possee en paz su señorío y esta rrico y sano los que le visitan: dizēle. Se agradecido a nuestro señor por el beneficio que te a hecho y para que le puedas gozar muchos dias: porque si fueres ingrato qujtarle a dios la vida y lo que te a dado.

pestilence, or death." Hence he was told: "[If] I proceed lazily, [if] I go tired [of my work, our lord's] glory, his renown, will go to disappear."

OUR LORD BRINGETH COLD WATER,
ICY WATER, UPON US

This saying is said of the time when our lord brings something upon us — affliction, pain, or sickness, or famine. Then it is said: "Our lord hath brought cold water, icy water, upon us. Our ears, our flanks have been tugged. Our lord hath pierced us, hath admonished us with that which is like a thorn, a bone awl."

THOU HAST CAST THYSELF INTO THE
TORRENT; THOU HAST CAST THYSELF
FROM THE CRAG

It means: "Thou hast placed thyself in danger; no one hath placed thee in danger" — [said to] him who brings about that which is not good, perhaps death, or that which is difficult, which frightens one, the impossible.

THE STIRRED DRINK, THE
FOLDED TORTILLA

This saying was said of him who was anguished, perhaps a ruler or a nobleman. He was told: "Be not anguished. May thou not leave the stirred drink, the folded tortilla.¹⁰ Take, lay hold of a little. Do not leave it. Thy anguish will become a grave sickness."

THE NIGHT, THE WIND, THE
SORCERER, OUR LORD

This saying was said of the demon Tezcatlipoca. It was said: "Can perchance Tezcatlipoca, can Uitzilopochtli as personages speak to you? For they take a form only like that of the wind and the night. Can they perchance as personages speak to you?"

IT IS SLICK, IT IS SLIPPERY BEFORE THE
REED MAT, THE REED SEAT; IT IS THE
PLACE OF NO DEPARTURE, THE
PLACE OF NO EXIT

It means, it cannot be a place of refuge; no one can escape the presence of the ruler.

mjqjztli: ic ilviloia. Ca nontlatzivi-
tuh, ca nonciavitiuh, ompolivitiuh in
jtletiotzin, in jnaviziotzin.

IN ATL ITZTIC, IN ATL CECEC TOPAN
QUJCHIOA IN TOTECUJO.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoa: in jquac itla topan qujmuchivilia in totecujo, in tetolinj, in tecoco, in anoço cocoliztli, in anoço maianaliztli: iquac mjtoa. Otapan qujmuchivilia in totecujo, in atl itztic, in atl cecec: tonacaztitech, toiomotlan onmopipilo, anoço in juhquj vitztli, in juhquj omjtl, ic techmoçoçolia, ic techmononochilia in totecujo.

OTIMATOIAVI, OTIMOTEPEXIHUJ:
qujtoznequj: otimovitili, aiac omjtz-
ovitili: in aqujn tlein qujchioa amo
qualli, aço mjqjztli: anoço in tlein
ovi, temamauhti, amo chioalonj.

IN AMOIAOALLI, IN
TLAMATZOALLI.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoa: in aqujn motequjpachotica in aço tlatoanj, anoço pilli: yliviloia. Macamo ximotequjpachotzino, ma ic ticmocavili in amoiaoaaltzintli, in tlamatzoaaltzintli: in achitzin ma xoconmocujli, ma xoconmanjli, macamo ximocavili: ilhviz cocoliztli mo-
cuepaz in monetequjpachol.

IN IOOALLI, IN EHECATL Y
NAOALLI IN TOTECUJO.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoaia: in tlateculotl Tezcatlipuca: mjtoaia. Cujx vel amechnotzaz in tlatatl in Tezcatlipuca, in Vitzilopuchtli: ca çan juhquj in ehecatl, auh in iooalli qujmonaoaltia: cujx vel amechtlanotzaz.

TLAALAOA, TLAPETZCAVI IN JXPAN
PETLATL, ICPALLI: AQUJNEUHIAN,
AQUJXOAIAN:

qujtoznequj: amo vel nemaqujxtilo-
ian: aiac vel ixpan momaqujxtia in tla-
toanj.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Agua fria, agua elada embia nro señor. Por methaphora se dize esto: de la pestilencia o hambre o otras affiçiones que embia nro señor para nuestro castigo: entonce dizen yn atl itztic in atl cecec topā qujchioa totecujo. Affigenos nro señor como con agua fria y con agua elada.

Qujere dezir esta letra. tu mismo te as arrojado en vna barrāca, tu mismo te as despeñado de vn rrisco abaxo. Por metaphora se dize: del que cayo por su culpa y de su volūdad en algun gran crimen o peligro de muerte de donde nadie le puede librar: a este tal dizē otimatoiahuju otimotepexihuju. Arro-
jastete en vna barrāca o en vna sima.

Esta letra qujere dezir: la comjda la beujda: dizesse por methaphora. Del que por alguna tristeza nj come nj beue nj duerme nj se qujere alegrar a este tal consolandole sus amjgos dizenle. No dexeys la comjda, nj la beujda, alegraos comed y beued y dormid porque no caiays en alguna emfermedad, de que no os puedā remediar.

Esta letra qujere dezir: La noche o obscuridad y el que se trasfigurā en diuersas formas. Por methaphora qujere dezir. El dios tezcatlipuca o por mejor dezir diablo. Por uentura hablaros a como persona y vitzilopuchtli, hablaros a como persona: no es possible, sino como ayre, y toma figura de obscuridad.

Dize esta letra. Resbalan y deslizanse muchos en presencia del trono y del estrado y nadie se escapa. Por methaphora qujere dezir: el que caye en la yra del señor o reyno, [no] se puede escapar de sus manos.

10. Read tlamatzoaaltzintli.

CONDUCT THYSELF GENTLY, HUMBLY IN
THY BOWING, THY INCLINATIONS,
BY AND NEAR OTHERS

This was said of the noblemen or of the sons of lords. They were admonished thus; they were told: "In order that you live gently, humbly by others, near others, you are not to live in arrogance, not to live in pride. Arrogance is not good, not righteous; one is not to live thus among others. It is good to live with bowings, with inclinations."

HE GOETH ABOUT GNAWING HIS FINGER-
NAILS; HE GOETH ABOUT WITH HIS
HANDS FORMING A NECKLACE

This saying was said of those who lived humbly — the needy. It was said: "Have mercy upon the needy, the poor, who go about gnawing¹¹ their fingernails, who go about with their hands forming necklaces, who wander from one's enclosure to one's entrance."

ART THOU NOT ADMONISHED, ART THOU
UNINSTRUCTED, UNREADED, UNTRAINED,
DISREGARDED?

This saying was said of the untrained, the disregarded, the stupid, the one who heeded not. He was told: "Truly, did not thy mother, thy father admonish thee, train thee how thou art to live? Thou art not admonished; thou art uninstructed, untrained."

VERILY HE HATH EYES;
VERILY HE HATH EARS

It means one who is well instructed, who can see all, who can heed all. He is named [one who] verily has eyes, who verily has ears. He listens to no deceitful words; he takes only the truth.

PEACEFUL RULE,
PEACEFUL GOVERNING

This saying was said of him who governed well, who was a peaceful lord, nobleman: very prudent, very circumspect, very discreet, who loved others, who respected others much. And he belittled no one who was poor, even though he were blind, maimed of hand,

IVIAN, IOCUXCA XIMONEMJTI: MA
MOTOLOL, MA MOMALCOCH, IN TETLOC,
IN TENAOAC:

Intechpa mjtóaia in pipilti, in añoço tetcutin inpilhoan, ic nononotzaloia: ilviloia. Injc annemjzque: çan ivian, çan iocuxca in tetloc, in tenaoac: amo anmopouhtinemjzque, amo amatlamatinemjzque: amo qualli, amo iectli in nepoalitzli: amo yc tetlan nemoa: ie qualli in tololtica, in malcochtica nemoa.

IJZTITZIN QUJTLANQUATINEMJ,
IMATZIN QUJMOCOCATITINEMJ.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in mocnonemjtia, in jcnotlaca: mjtóaia. Xictlaocoli in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja in ijztitzin qujmococatinemj, in jmatzin qujmococatinemj: in techinantitlan, in tequjiaoac monenemjtia.

ATITLANONOTZALLI, ATITLAZCALTILI,
ATITLAPAOALLI, ATIMUZCALIA,
ATITLACHIA?

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in amo muzcalia, in amo tlachia, xolopitli, amo tlacaj: ilviloia. Nelli mach amo monan, mota mjtznontz, amo mjtizcali in quenjn tinemjz, atitlanonotzalli, atitlazcaltili, atitlapaoalli.

VEL IXE, VEL NACACE:

qujtoznequj: in aqujn cenca muzcalia, muchi vel qujtta, muchi vel qujcaquj: moteneoa vel ixé, vel nacace: amo tle iztlacatlacatl qujcaquj, çan vel neltiliztli in qujcaquj.

IVIAN TECUJUTL,
IVIAN TLATOCATITL.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in aqujn vellatocati, ivian in tecuti, pilti, cenca mjmata, cenca tlachia, cenca mozcalia, cenca tetlaçotla, cenca temaviztli: ioan aiac qujteltchiao in motolinja: manel ixpupuiotzin, macuecuetzin, vilatzin, quapupultzin, itzotzomatzin, icno-

Esta letra qujere dezir. Viue pacíficamente y muy humilmente inclinate y recogete entre los otros. Esta era exortacion de los pilles y nobles con que los aujsauan para que mostrassen toda humildad y subieccion delante los principales señores y reyes, por su tyránja mjravan mucho en los que mostrauā algū brio o presupcion [sic] en su presencia: y por esto les aujsauan y dezian. Si quereys viujr en paz entre los hombres, no mostreys presupcion [sic] porque la soberuja es muy mala, y el que la tiene no puede viujr en paz: el que se inclina y se recoge viue en paz.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Los que roen las vñas y los que traen las manos al cuello. Por methaphora se dize. De los pobres hambrientos y muy necessitados dezian desta manera. Haz misericordia con los huérfanos y con los pobres que andā muertos de hambre y ruyendo sus vñas, traen las manos cruzadas delante los pechos por la grande inopia, y andan demandando de puerta en puerta.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Eres mal criado, y mal diciplinado y mal mjrado. Esto se dize: de los tochos y bouos y mal criados, por uja de reprehension, es possible que tu padre y tu madre no te doctrinaron? no te enseñaron como as de viujr?

Esta letra qujere dezir. De verdad tiene ojos, de verdad tiene orejas. Por methaphora qujere dezir: es persona prudente y sabia habil y esperta.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Legítimo señorío, legítimo reyno. Dizesse: de aquellos señores que alcançaron sus señorios por legitima election y son verdaderos señores que amā a sus subditos y mas a los mas pobres: dizesse tambien de los pilles, y senadores, y valientes hōbres, que su nombre le ganaron con hazañas y valentias, segun

11. Read quimotlanquatitinemj.

crippled, disheveled, in rags, needy — one whose sustenance appeared not, one for whom that which was to hang about his waist, about his neck appeared not; one who loitered at one's enclosure, at one's entrance; one who went extending his hand at others' entrances, by others' walls: the poor, the destitute.

HEART, BLOOD

This saying was said of cacao, because it was precious; nowhere did it appear in times past. The common folk, the needy did not drink it. Hence it was said: "The heart, the blood are to be feared." And also it was said of it that it was [like] jimson weed; it was considered to be like the mushroom,¹² for it made one drunk; it intoxicated one. If he who drank it were a common person, it was taken as a bad omen. And in times past only the ruler drank it, or a great warrior, or a commanding general, a general. If perhaps two or three lived in wealth, they drank it. Also it was hard to come by; they drank a limited amount of cacao, for it was not drunk unthinkingly.

WITH EAGLES, WITH OCELOTS

This saying was said of warfare, because the noblemen could not be praised — [one could not be] honored if he were not one who went to war, if he were not a brave man, if he were not a brave warrior, if he were not a taker of captives. Likewise the commoner: only with eagles, with ocelots did he succeed, was he honored, praised. And furthermore, likewise the rich one, the prosperous one, perhaps the bather of slaves also succeeded in the same way. Although not a brave warrior, only because of his property was he praised, because many times he invited others to banquet, he gave gifts to others.

THE DRINKING CUP, THE EARTHEN BASIN; THAT IS, MAGEY WINE

This saying was said of him who became drunk, whether a child, a

tlacatl, in aalneci in jcochca, in jneuhca: auh in aalneci in jquezpan pilcaz, in jquechtlan onpilcaz, in techinanti-tlan, in tequjiaoac moquequetza, in jmatzin qujmantinemj in tequjiaoatla, in tecaltech, in aoneoa, in aonmaci.

IOLLITLI, EZTLI

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia in cacaoatl: iehica ca tlaçotli catca, acan necia in ie vecauh: amo quja in maceoaltzin-tli, in jcnotlacatl: ipampa in mjtóaia: Iollitli, eztlí, imacaxonj: auh no itechpa mjtóaia, ca mxiitl, ca tlapatl, ca iuhquj in nanaoatl ipan momati: ca teivinti, ca texocomjcti: in aqujn qujia: intla maceoalli: cenca tetzammachoia: auh çan in quja ie ucauh: iehoatl in tla-toanj, anoço in vei tiacauh, anoço tla-teccatl, tla-cohcalcatl, in aço vme, aço ey cacitinemj, iehoan qujia: çan no vei necia, ca çan tlapoalli in cacaoatl qujia: ca amo çan jliviz in mjia.

QUAUHIOTICA, OCELOIOTICA

Injn tlatolli, mjtóaia: itechpa in iao-iutl: iehica in pipilti amo vel teneoaloia, maviztililoia: intlacamo iauc ianj, intlacamo oqujchtli, intlacamo tiacauh, intlacamo tlamanj: çan no iuhquj in maceoalli: ca çan quauhiotica, oceloio-tica in pavetzia, in maviztililoia, in teneoaloia: auh tel no iuhquj in motla-machtianj, in mocujltonoanj: in aço tealtianj, no ic pavetzia: macanelmo tiacauh, çan tlatqujtica in iecteneoaloia: iehica ca mjiecpa tecoanotza, tetlauhtia.

IN TETLAOAN, IN APAZTLI

QUJTOZNEQUJ: OCTLI

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in aqujn tlaanaia, in aço piltontli, aço

que estaua ordenado por las leyes de la republica.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Coraçon sangre. Por methaphora se dezia. Del cacao que solamente le vsauan vauer los señores y senadores valientes hombres y nobles y generosos: porque valia muy caro y auja muy poco: si alguno de los populares lo beuja costauale la vida si sin licencia lo beujan: por esta se llamaua iollitli ieztli, precio de sangre y de coraçon.

Dize esta letra. Con agujas y Cõ tigres se gano. Qujere dezir por methaphora: ganose con fuerça de aguja y de tigre: y dizesse de qualquiera dignidad de la republica, que se gano: con trabajos y de la mercaderia o trato o con trabajos de la agricultura: de manera que el señor dira Quauhtica ocelotica onjcnexiti y tlatocaiutl. Con trabajos de la guerra vine a ser señor y el tecutli o tiacauh dize. Quauhtica ocelotica dize Con trabajos de la guerra gane la dignidad que tengo: el mercader rico y estimado tambien dira. Con trabajos gane hazienda y la estima que tengo: lo mesmo dira el hombre rico, que es Labrador. Quauhtica ocelotica onjcnexiti. Con trabajos y serujcios vine a ser lo que soy. Tambien se dira de alguna prouincia o reyno que se gano por fuerça de armas.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Vino de la tierra con que se enuorrahã. Era reprehension para todos los que beujan: este

12. Read *nanacatl*.

youth, or a maiden; one not yet an old man, one not yet an old woman. He was told, he was reprimanded: "Leave it alone; thou art a boy, thou art a girl. Take great care of the drinking cup, of the earthen basin, that is, the maguey wine. Soon thou art a continuous drinker. Art thou an old man? Art thou an old woman? Verily, thou art a child."

THERE HATH BEEN PLACED UPON THEE
THAT WHICH IS VERY THICK, THAT
WHICH IS WELL TWISTED

This saying was said of him who had been admonished, whether a nobleman or a commoner. Thus was he encouraged. He was told: "Now thou hast taken, thou hast grasped, the most precious discourse, and upon thee hath been placed that which is thick, that which is twisted; about thy neck there hath been placed a rope."

CHAFF, STRAW

It means that which is not good, not righteous; a lie. Thus it was said of him who committed a fault, an ill-advised act, [who told] a lie: "On thee hath come evil, unrighteousness; like straw, like chaff, it is a lie." To him who was given only to — who occupied himself with — lies, it was told: "Chaff, straw, are thy food. Thou art a liar, a meddler."

NOWHERE IS THERE WATER WITH WHICH
THOU WILT BATHE THYSELF, WITH
WHICH THOU WILT CLEANSE THYSELF

This saying was said of him who did that which is evil; perhaps he had stolen or committed adultery. He was told:¹³ "What more wilt thou do? Already thy fault is known. Is there perchance anywhere water with which thou wilt bathe thyself, with which thou wilt purify thyself? What wilt thou be? What more wilt thou do? Thou art unfortunate."

OUR LORD CONTINUETH TO TUG AT
OUR FLANK, AT OUR EARS

This saying was said when our lord caused something to befall us. Perhaps

telpuchtli, anoço ichpuchtli, in aiama veve, in aiama ilama: ilviloia, tlacaaaltiloia. Xiccaa in titelpuchtontli, in tichpuchtontli, in ie uel ticmocujtlavia y tetlaoan yn apaztli: qujtoznequj: in octli, in ie cucl titlatlaoana: cujx tiveventon, cujx tilamatón: ca tipiltontli.

OTONTLALILILLOC IN VEL
CHAMAOAC, IN VEL
TETZILIUHQJ.

Injn tlatolli itechpa mjtóaia: in aqujn nonotzaloia in aço pilli, in anoço maceoalli, ic ellaquaoaloia: ilviloia. In axcan otoconucj, otoconan in vellaçotli tlatolli: ioan otontlalililloc in chamaoac, in tetziluihqj, otontlalililloc mecatl in moquechtlan.

POLLOCOTLI, ÇACAQUALLI:

qujtoznequj: in tlein amo qualli, amo iectli, iztlacatiliztli: ic yliloia in aqujn qujchioaia tlatlaculli, atetlanemjiztli, in jztlacatiliztli. Ca omutech muchiuh, in aqualli, in aiectli: in juhquj çacaqualli, in juhquj pollocotli, iztlacatiliztli. In aqujn çan qujxcavia qujmotequjtia iztlacatiliztli: ilviloia. Pollocotli, çacaqualli motlaqual, tiztlacatinj, tetlatinemjn.

ACAN ATL IC TIMALTIZ,
IC TIMOCHIPAOAZ.

Injn tlatolli, ilviloia in aqujn tlein amo qualli oqujchiuh: aço oyhtec, aço otetlaxin: ililviloia. Quen oc timuchioaz: ie omachoc in motlatlacul, cujx çan cana atl yc timaltiz, ic timuchipaoaz: tle tiez, tle oc timuchioaz: timotolinja.

TOIOMOTLAN, TONACAZTITECH
MOPIPILOA IN TOTEKUJO.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in jquac itla topan qujmuchivilia totecujó:

vino siendo mãcebos o moças o muchachos o muchachas porque no se vsaua beuer hasta la vejez y a los que antes lo beujan dezianlos, Xiccaa yn tetlaoan in apaztli qujere dezir. Dexa de beuer el vino o vctli ca vn [ca aun] no tienes edad para ello.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Ate sido puesta vna sogá muy gruesa y muy rezia. Y por methaphora dezianlo: de aquellos a qujen les dauan algun officio de la republica, para que se esforçarsen [sic] a hazerlo con diligencia. Otontlalililloc in vel chamaoac in tetziluihqj: qujere dezir. Ante dado esse cargo, esfuerçate a hazer lo con diligencia y piensa que estas atado con vna sogá gruesa, y rezia.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Abrosos y espinas. Por methaphora se dize de los que son revoltosos y perturbā la paz de la republica con metiras [sic], y con murmuraciones, y a los tales reprehendianlos diziendo. Ca motech omochiuh in çaqualli pollocotli qujere dezir. De ti salio esta turbacion porque eres vn mentiroso y reboltoso.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Con njnguna agua te podras lauar. Por methaphora se dezia: de aquel que auja hecho algun peccado graue con que se infamo de hurto o de adulterio: el qual era ya publico dezianle: Cujx çan cana atl yc timaaltiz. Qujere dezir. No te labaras deste infamja con njnguna agua.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Nño señor nos a pellizcado en la oreja o en el hombro. Por methaphora se dize. Quando se hielan los mantenjmientos

13. Read *ilviloia*.

frost consumed our maize, or there was famine. Of this it was said: "Our lord hath tugged at our ears; he hath continued to tug at our flank."

THOU HAST UNDERTAKEN TO SHOULDER
A BUNDLE OF PEOPLE, A CARRYING
FRAME LOAD OF PEOPLE

This saying was said of him who had been installed as a ruler or set up as a lord. Thus was he told: "Thou hast undertaken to shoulder a bundle of people, a carrying frame load of people. Thou wilt find heavy, thou wilt find tiring the common folk, for great is the burden which thou hast shouldered, which thou hast undertaken. What will our lord ordain for tomorrow, for the next day? Perhaps castigation?"

THE TORRENT HATH WASHED AWAY
THE ROCK, THE LOG

This saying was said of a very great work, of a task, of misery; when a task and perhaps pestilence oppressed, afflicted the people exceedingly.

THE BLACK, THE RED OF
THE ANCIENT ONES

This saying was said of the customs of the ancient ones—that which they left established, a way of life. All lived accordingly. If all lived not accordingly, it was thus said: "May the black, the red of the ancient ones, that is, the customs, perish not." Or: "Why do you destroy the way of life, the black, the red of our grandfathers, the ancient ones?"

THE TWIGS, THE STRAW BEDS
OF THE ANCIENT ONES

This saying was said in reference to the first time the ancient Chichimeca came to arrive, when still in the forest, still in the grassy plains they laid out their twigs, their straw beds. It was said: "There for the first time our progenitors, our grandfathers, the Chichimeca, arranged their beds of straw, their beds of twigs when they departed. For they lived settling in the forest, in the grassy plains when they were still patches of brambles, patches of cactus."

aço cetl quiqua in tonacaiod, aço maianaliztli: ic mjtóaia: Otonacaztitech mopilo in totecujo: toiomotlan omopipilo.

IN TLACAQUJMJLLI, IN
TLACACACAXTLI, OYTLAN
TONAC OTOCONMAMA.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in aqujn tlatocatlalilo, anoço tecuteco: ic ilviloia. Oytlan tonac, otoconmama in tlacaqujmjlli, in tlacacacaxtli tiueticiviz, ticcianmjqujz in cujtlapilli, in atlapalli: ca vei tlamamalli yn otoconmama, in oytlan tonac: quen conmonequiltiz in totecujo yn muztla, in viptla, ac aço tle in tetl, yn quavítl.

TETL OATOCOC, QUAVITL
OATOCOC.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in cenca vei tequjtiliztli, in tlatequjpanoliztli, in netolinjilzli, in cenca tetequjpacho, tetolinj tlatequjpanoliztli: ioan in aço vei cocoliztli.

INTLIL, INTLAPAL IN
VEVETQUE:

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: in jntlamanjtiliz in vevetque, in tlein oqujtlaliteoque nemjliztli, çan ipan nemoa, acanoçomo ipan nemoa: ic mjtóaia. Macamo poliviz in jntlil, yn jntlapal in vevetque: quitoznequj: in tlamanjtiliztli: anoço. Tleica in anqujpola in nemjliztli, yn jntlil, in jntlapal tocolvan, vevetque.

INTLACOUH, INÇACAPECH
IN VEVETQUE.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtóaia: injc iancujcan acico chichimeca vevetque, in oc quauhtla, in oc çacatlá oqujtenque in jntlacouh, in jnçacapech: mjtóaia. Vncan iancujcan oqujtecateoque in jnçacapech, in jntlacopec in totechiuhcaon, in tocolvan in chichimeca: injc quauhtitlan, çacatitlan motetecatinenque, in oc tzivactla, in oc nequametla.

o por otra ocasion viene hãbre dizen. Otonacaztitech mopillo in totecujo: toiomotlã omopillo. Nño señor a hecho esto por castigarnos.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Carga de personas o cacaxtli en que se lleuã personas a cuestras. Dizesse por methaphora: de aquellos que les an dado cargo de regir la republica para encacerlos su officio que es pesado dizenles. Oytlan tonac, otoconmama in tlacaqujmjlli yn tlaca, cacaxtli. As tomado cargo de llevar a cuestras a la gente popular y a toda la republica.

Qujere dezir esta letra: lleuo el agua las piedras y los maderos por su gran impetu. Por methaphora se dize esto: quando algun gran trabajo se recrece a la republica con el qual muchos son affigidos.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Esto dexaron escripto o pintado o por memoria los antiguos. Esto se dize: de las leyes y costumbres que dexaron los antiguos en la republica: y quando no se haze asi como ellos lo dexaron dizen: Macamo polihujz in jntlil yn jntlapal in vevetque. Qujere dezir. Y no conviene que se pierdan las costumbres que dexaron los antiguos.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Esta es la breña y çacatlal de los antiguos. Por methaphora qujere dezir. Aquj en este lugar que era breñas y çacatales se poblaron primeramente nuestros antepasados, aquj hizieron primeramẽte sus casas de mjmbrs y sus camas de çacate o heno.

IT HATH RUINED ONE; IT HATH
DIRTIED ONE

This saying was said of the evil manner of conduct, not alone of words. It was said if some nobleman or lord spoke vainly, like a dog, vainly as if assaulting one with words. It was said — he was told, that he might be restrained: "Cease thy words. Speak not like a commoner. What thou sayest hath ruined one, hath dirtied one." Or¹⁴ of that which was a fault — perhaps adultery or theft — he who did it thus was admonished, was told: "It is not necessary for thee to commit this fault, for by it thou dost ruin thyself, dirty thyself. It is not the way of living, not the way of being; it is not good, not righteous. Stop it. Not thus did the ancient ones go living when they went leaving thee. Calmly, peaceably did they go living when they went leaving thee among others."

I SHALL PLACE THEE TO MY LEFT,
IN MY OBSIDIAN SANDALS

This saying was said when some ruler thus exhorted one. He said: "Thou, thou who art either a nobleman or a lord, stand near me, at my left, in my obsidian sandals. Thou wilt be to the left of me, in my obsidian sandals. If thou takest care, if thou art discreet,¹⁵ [if thou] livest well, thou wilt place thyself to my left, in my obsidian sandals." And also thus was supplicated whoever [acted in behalf of] the ruler; he was told: "Thou yet standest on the left, in the obsidian sandals of the ruler." It means: "Thou aidest him." Perhaps a judge issued the command, spoke the word of the ruler.

THEIR BOOKS, THEIR PAINTINGS
This means the same as "their black, their red."

THE HEAVENS OPEN, THE
EARTH IS RENT

This saying was said of the very wonderful which happened, of that which happened not very often, as when the body of Our Lord is received.

TEIÇOLO, TECATZAUH.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoa: in amo qualli nemjiztli, açã tlatoltica: mjttoaia intla aca pilli, anoço tecutli in çan iliviz tlatoa, in juhquj chichi, in çan jliviz iuhquj tequaquatiuetzi tlatoltica: mjttoaia, ilviloia injc tlacacaltioia. Xiccaa in motlatol: macamo ximacevallato, in tiqujtoa ca teiçolo, ca tecatzauh: anoco in tlein tlatlaculli: aço tetlaximaliztli, anoço ichtequjiztli: ic nonotzaloia in aqujn qujchioia: ylviloia. Injn tlatlaculli camo monequj in ticchioaz: ca ic timjçoloa ic timocatzaoa, amo nemoanj, amo ielooanj, amo iectli, amo qualli: xiccaa camo iuh nentivi in mjtzcacauhtivi in vevetque, ca çan jvian, ca çan iocuxca in nentivi, in mjtzcacauhtivi, in tetloc, in tenaoac.

NOPUCHCO, NJTZCAC
NJMJTZTLALIZ.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoaia: in jquac aca tlatoanj ic tenonotzaia: qujtoaia. In tehoatl in aço tipilli, aço titecutli: vel ximoquetza nonaoac, nopuchco, njtzcac: tinechopuchtiz, tinechitzactiz, intla xitlachia intla timozcalia: vel xinemj, nopuchco, njtzcac, timotlaliz. no yoan ic tlatlauhtioia, in aqujn tlatoanj: ilhviloia. Oc yopuchco, oc itzcac timoquetza in tlatoanj: qujtoznequj: ticpalevia, aço tecutlato qujhi-joqujxtia, qujtalhvia in jlatol tlatoanj.

IMAMUX, INTLACUJLOL.
çan ie no ichoatl qujtoznequj. Intlil, intlalpal.

MATZAIANJ IN JLVICATL,
TENTLAPANJ IN TLALLI

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjttoaia: in tlein cenca maviztic muchioia, in jtechpa in aic cenca muchioa: in juhquj iquac celilo totecujto inacaiotzin: iuh

Qujere dezir esta letra. Cosa que ensuzia y amanzilla. Y por methaphora qujere dezir. Toda mala criança que se dize de palabra o toda obra fea que se haze al que lo haze o dize: dizenle. Ca tecatzauh, ca teyçolo in tiqujtoa in ticchioa. Qujere dezir. Eso que dizes o hazes es cosa fea, y es cosa de mal exēplo, y con ella te ensuzias y te infamas a ti mjsmo.

Qujere dezir esta letra. A mj sinjestra y debaxo de mj subacco, te pondre. Por methaphora qujere dezir. Seras el mas allegado a mj de todos seras otro yo: esto dezia el señor a algun pilli o tecutli seyme [sic] fiel que yo te hare mj segūdo. Tambien la otra gēte dezia: al que vian que era mas allegado al señor y era como su ynterprete daua las respuestas de lo que el queria que se hiziesse, a este dezian: tienele debaxo de su braço izquierdo, y en su sobacco nuestro señor o nuestro rey.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Su libro y sus escrituras. Y por metaphora qujere dezir: las costūbres y leyes de los antiguos.

Qujere dezir esta letra. Abrese el cielo y rrompese la tierra. Por methaphora qujere dezir: hazese vna maraujlla y vn mjllagro nunca visto nj oydo eta. Vi supra.

14. Read anoço.

15. Correct reading may be ximozcalia; the MS is blurred here.

So it is said: "Now a great marvel is come to pass. The heavens open, the earth is rent. Let no one cause laughter; let no one cause rejoicing. Let all be afraid, stand afraid, be trembling, stand trembling, before the deity, the ruler."

THOU TAKEST REFUGE IN THE
CORNER, IN THE DARKNESS

This saying was said when someone was experienced or able, a well-known nobleman or lord, and later destroyed his renown. Perhaps he just went off somewhere. No more did he sit among the noblemen or the lords. No more did he appear anywhere; he just went about hiding himself. He who thus did was told: "Why dost thou just wander anywhere, no more showing thyself anywhere? Why of thine own will dost thou take refuge in the corner, in the darkness?" It means: "Thou goest about hiding thyself, no longer appearing in public, no longer showing thyself anywhere in order to serve, to work for, the city. Just of thine own will dost thou ruin thyself, destroy thy renown. Thou acknowledgest thyself a fool just lying in the corner, in the darkness."

This was translated into the Spanish language by the said Father, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, in this year of 1577, thirty years after it had been written in the Mexican language.

End of the Sixth Book.

mjtoa. In axcan cenca tlamaviçolli in muchioa: matzaianj in jlvcatl, tentlapanj in tlalli: macaiac vetzcatia, macaiac maviltitia: ma muchi tlacatl mauhca ie, mauhca ica, viviiocatie, viviiocatica in ijxpantzinco teoutl, tlatoanj.

XOMOLLI, TLAIOOALLI
TICMOTOCTIA.

Injn tlatolli, itechpa mjtoia: in jquac aca ixtlamati, anoço mozcalianj, iximachopilli, anoço tecutli: auh çatepan qujpoloa in jnavizio, aço ça campa nenemj: aiocmo intlan motlalia in pipilti, anoço tlatoque: aioccan monextia, ça motlatlatitinemj: in aqujn iuh qujchiaoia, yn: ilviloia. Tle ipampa in ça canjn tinenemj: in aioccan timonextia, tle ipampa in ça monoma xomolli, tlaiooalli ticmotocia: qujtoznequj: timotlatlatitinemj, aiocmo teixpan tineci, aioccan timonextia injc timotititlanjz, injc titlatequjpanoz in jtechpa altepetl: çan monoma timopopoloa, ticpoloa in momavizio, timoxolopicujtia: ça xomulco, ça tlaiooaian tivetztoç.

Esta letra qujere dezir. Estaste al rrincon y al [*sic*] obscuridad. Por methaphora se dezia esto: de aquel que auja sido official o principal en la republica y es habil para qualqujera cosa y por alguna desgracia o por su humjldad se aparto de la conuersacion de los del palacio y de los senadores y del señor y se esta en su casa a este tal sus amjgos le deziã tle ypampa in ça monoma xomolli tlaiooalli ticmotocia: qujere dezir. Porque te escondes y huyes de la conuersacion de los principales, y no qujeres parecer donde estan, nj qujeres tomar algun officio de la republica: en esto te deshonorras a ti mjsmo, y das a entender que no vales nada.

Fue traduzido en lengua española por el dicho padre Fray bernardino de sahagun: despues de treynta años, que se escriujo en la lengua mexicana: este año de mjll y qujnientos y setēta y siete.

Fin del libro sexto